



JIMMY HOFFA RETURNS AS SYLVESTER STALLONE



Above: James R. Hoffa, with his attorneys, confers with Robert F. Kennedy, counsel for the Senate Labor Rackets committee in August 1957. Left: Sylvester Stallone as Johnny Kovak.



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THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS



Palestinian farmer in southern Lebanon with his son.

'We don't have any rights...'

In 1947, an estimated 1.2 million Palestinians lived in Palestine. A year later, 760,000 had fled Israeli rule to become refugees in the surrounding Arab states. Those who remained became Arab citizens of a Jewish state, with special identity cards and restricted rights.

Today, there are more than three million Palestinians in the Mideast, about 45 percent in Israel, the West Bank and the Gaza, and the rest in Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, and the other Arab countries. Among these dispersed Palestinians there is the same combination of culture and deprivation, individual success and collective ghettoization that characterized the European and Arab Jews that settled Israel.

The Palestinians have the highest percentage of university graduates among the Arab peoples. But about half the dispersed Palestinians live in dirt-poor refugee camps. In Lebanon, Palestinian unemployment is as high as 60 percent.

The Palestinians suffer discrimination in the Arab countries no less than in Israel. Saudi Arabia won't allow Palestinians to work there. In Lebanon, they have to purchase annual work permits at a relatively high price, or else seek work as "illegals" at substandard wages. They are not allowed to work in government jobs, banks, or hotels (the major sources of jobs in Beirut), or to own land or rent it from the government.

One Palestinian farmer, who fled Haifa in 1948, explained how he had to rent his land from a Lebanese who leased it from the government. "We don't have any rights in Lebanon or the other Arab countries," he told me. "For this reason, we are going to continue fighting Israel."

This is not the usual explanation given by PLO leaders to explain their war with Israel, but it is no less important than Israeli intransigence in explaining the continued growth and vitality of the Palestinian movement.

Fateh and the PLO

The wishes of Carter, Sadat, Begin, and Hussein to the contrary, the PLO pretty much is the Palestinian movement. In Lebanon, it is even a state within a state, with its own hospitals, schools and factories. Organizations outside the PLO are like the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), which split from the PLO because it was not militant enough.

The PLO was formed in 1964 when the Arab countries, led by Egypt's Gamel Abdel Nasser, thought they needed a threat to hold against Israel's designs on Jordan River water. From 1964 to 1969, the PLO was their organization. It did little except issue pronouncements, including the infamous Palestinian National Charter, which stipulated that only pre-1948 Jewish settlers would be welcome in the Palestinian state.

The chief organizations that would later build the PLO arose independently of and in opposition to the ori-

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ginal organization. Fateh, the most important of them, began in the late '50s. In 1964, it shocked the Arab world by staging its own raids in Israel. By doing this, it not only defied diplomatic prerogatives, but it broke with the logic of Nasser's Arab revolution. Instead of maintaining that Arab unity was the prerequisite to Palestinian liberation, Fateh declared the reverse: Palestinian liberation was the key to Arab unity.

In 1969, Fateh and its leader Yasir Arafat came into and took over the PLO. With Fateh came Dr. George Habash's PFLP, which had grown out of the Arab Nationalist Movement, and Naef Hawatmeh's Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, which had split from the PFLP.

Fateh is the largest of the organizations, and it defined the PLO in its own image. Fateh is militantly anti-ideological except on one issue: the national rights of the Palestinians. It has Marxists within it, but it refuses to take a position on the economic or political system that will prevail in an independent Palestinian state.

Fateh abounds with critics of the other Arab countries, but it and the PLO refuse to characterize, criticize, or analyze other Arab countries except in regard to how they relate to the Palestinian national struggle.

This policy has advantages for both Fateh and the PLO. Fateh is the organization to which the Saudi regime is willing to give aid. Fateh can also speak, in the words of Fateh leader Mah'moud Lebadi, "for the whole Palestinian people, left and right."

Within the PLO, the main other group is now the "Marxist-Leninist" Democratic Front, which grew rapidly during the Lebanese war. The Democratic Front has been a major source of ideas in the PLO. In 1973, it introduced the idea of a transitional program for the PLO. Instead of holding out for a democratic secular state, the PLO should accept, as a transitional goal, an independent Palestinian state on the West Bank and Gaza Strip. It also has introduced the heretical idea that Israeli Jews have become a national, rather than purely religious, group and that the PLO should therefore seek a binational rather than democratic secular state in which each national group would have special rights.

The Democratic Front advocates a socialist Palestinian state, but they accept the position of Fateh that the PLO should take no position on the question and that it should be settled only after a state is established.

The main group outside the PLO is the PFLP, which split in 1974 when the PLO adopted the Democratic Front's transitional program. His support by Libya and Iraq and from within the refugee camps, makes it a continuing factor in the Palestinian movement.

Peaceful coexistence

Since 1969, the PLO has progressively moderated its goals until it has now all but acknowledged officially that it would be willing to live peacefully with Israel in exchange for an independent Palestinian state and the right of Palestinians to return to their homes in Israel. At the same time, it maintains certain vestiges of its former position, including the National Charter. The PLO's rationale for doing this is that for every official modification in its position it must receive something official in return.

The first major change in the Palestinian position came after Arab successes in the October 1973 war with Israel. With Mideast negotiations imminent, the PLO adopted the Democratic Front's proposal for a transitional goal of an independent Palestinian state and the right of return.

A democratic secular or binational state in historic Palestine remained the ultimate goal, to be achieved in 30 to 50 years, but it would be pursued by "political and democratic means," not by armed struggle. This was first enunciated publicly by the PLO's London representative Said Hamami in a paper entitled "A Pales-

tinian Strategy for Peaceful Coexistence," and it was reiterated by all the PLO leaders I talked to.

When the PLO adopted this position in 1974, the PFLP left the coalition. It did not do so because it rejected an independent state, but because it thought neither this nor the ultimate goal could be won through negotiations. "There have been no people in the world that have been able to get their rights without armed force," PFLP Central Committee member Aboud Ryad said during a visit to their Beirut headquarters. "If we liberate part, we should continue until we liberate the whole."

The new PLO position subsequently became the basis for talks in 1976 and 1977 between Fateh leaders and members of the Israeli Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace, an organization headed by Gen. Mattityahu Pelled. The Council was not anti-Zionist, like the Israeli Communist party, but was committed to a modified Zionism that would permit both Israelis and Palestinians their national rights.

Syrian sabotage?

It seemed in 1977 that the PLO was very close to achieving the diplomatic respectability it had sought. In October 1977, the U.S. and the Soviet Union had called for a Mideast settlement that would recognize "Palestinian rights."

But in the last six months, the U.S. and Egypt have abandoned the PLO, and it is now relatively isolated within a "steadfastness front" that includes Syria, Iraq, Libya, and Algeria.

The decisive moment seemed to come when the PLO rejected Anwar Sadat's offer to join the negotiations with Israel. Whenever I asked the PLO leaders why they didn't take up Sadat's offer, I got the same answer: "Sadat carried out his initiative without getting anything in return."

I remain skeptical of this explanation and continue to suspect that Syrian or possibly Soviet pressure is to blame. While the PLO has been independent of external direction since 1969, it has by no means been free from outside influence. Syria can exert direct military pressure on the PLO, while the USSR, Saudi Arabia and other Arab states can exert financial pressure. (It is estimated that the PLO needed \$450 million in military aid during the Lebanese war.)

Since its defeat in Jordan in 1970, the PLO has been confined militarily to Lebanon, leaving them particularly vulnerable to Syrian influence. They have tended to get caught up in the Syrian-Egyptian rivalry.

In 1974, Syrian influence was probably a factor in the PLO's not taking Sadat's advice to establish a government-in-exile, a measure that might have aided the movement. Syria wanted the PLO to retain its purely commando image as a threat to use against Israel.

Ironically, Syrian influence has grown since it invaded Lebanon and nearly destroyed the PLO army. In Lebanon, the Syrian deterrent forces are now preventing the recurrence of war by standing between the Israelis in the south and the rightwing Christians in the north.

This influence was probably sufficient, along with Soviet pressure, to prevent the PLO from accepting Sadat's bid.

It was only a step from the PLO's resulting isolation to the resumption of fullscale attacks against Israeli civilians, represented by the March Tel Aviv commando operations. The operation was necessary, as one PLO leader acknowledged, "to let Sadat and Begin know that there can be no peace in the Middle East without the Palestinians."

In these terms, the operation succeeded, but it also reinforced the PLO's image as a terrorist organization bent upon Israel's destruction.

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UN takes up disarmament at special session

Sponsors hope the session will refocus world attention on the disarmament issue.

By Patrick Lacefield

NEW YORK

THE LARGEST, MOST REPRESENTATIVE gathering ever convened to consider the question of disarmament is about to begin here. May 23 will see the kickoff of a five-week United Nations Special Session on Disarmament, the first ever.

Although the five-week session will be too short—and too unwieldy, with every UN member represented—to actually negotiate any substantive disarmament, session sponsors hope that it will draw attention to the great powers' enormous nuclear arsenals, nuclear proliferation and the burgeoning worldwide conventional arms race.

Convened largely through the efforts of non-aligned and Third World nations, the special session will have four components:

- Review and appraisal of the current international situation in regard to disarmament;
- Adoption of a declaration of principles on disarmament;
- Adoption of a disarmament action program; and
- A review of the role of the UN and other international machinery in disarmament negotiations, particularly the possibility of convening a World Disarmament Conference.

Seasoned UN observers are quick to point out that a special session is not a negotiating body and that expectations should bear that in mind. The value of the session, they argue, is as a consciousness-raising device, in the tradition of UN conferences on issues like the environment (1970), population (1974), food (1974), economic development (1974-75), women's rights (1975) and human settlements (1976).

The non-aligned states reportedly took the lead in promoting the special session in hopes of connecting the nuclear arms race with issues of international security and economic development. They have repeatedly argued that there can be no significant progress in alleviating the plight of the bulk of the world's peoples while \$380 billion per year is spent on military programs (nearly two-thirds of it by the U.S. and the Soviet Union).

They also point out that the greatest percentage rise in arms expenditures in the last five years has been among those nations that can least afford it. This link between disarmament and economic development is likely to be their primary focus during the session.

At the same time, however, Third World nations are likely to be more concerned with superpower reductions and cutbacks than with efforts to impose restraints on arms growth by Third World nations or efforts to control nuclear proliferation.

Preliminary statements from the Secretary-General of the Coordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries, for instance, concentrate almost exclusively on great power nuclear disarmament. Action on conventional and Third World nuclear armaments is considered a secondary issue.

"The sad fact," says Ambassador Koh of Singapore, "is that the big countries of the Third World, while preaching at the nuclear powers to disarm, have not the slightest intention to curb their own appetite for conventional weapons."

While both Moscow and Washington will undoubtedly stress their commitment to and willingness to act for disarmament,

their primary concern will be to limit any political damage to their positions. Both view the special session as likely to be a global sideshow to be endured while they pursue bilateral efforts in SALT and other forums.

The U.S., in particular, prefers bilateral talks to discussion in an international arena of 149 nations that has slipped to the left in recent years.

While the non-aligned states, most Western countries and even the Soviet Union have submitted working papers outlining their positions to the Preparatory Committee, the U.S. has not yet done so.

A State department conference for 500 representatives of UN-recognized non-governmental organizations held March 11 in Washington revealed little in the way of substantive proposals that the U.S. was prepared to present. (The official response is that the U.S. wants to maintain a "flexible approach.") Though President Carter will probably address the session during its first week, most observers doubt he will enunciate any new proposals to reverse the escalating arms race.

Many of the non-governmental organizations that are recognized by the UN hope to play a role in the special session. Preparatory Committee chairman Carlos Ortiz de Rozas of Argentina has already announced that 18 of the organizations will be afforded an opportunity to address the special session, including the World Peace Council, World Council of Churches, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, International Fellowship of Reconciliation, Stockholm Peace Research Institute and the Socialist International.

NGOs have also submitted preparatory papers and have sought to mobilize public opinion on the disarmament issue. A series of demonstrations have also been planned (see accompanying box) under the sponsorship of the Mobilization for Survival.

Pat Lacefield is on the staff of WIN magazine.



Photos/Patrick Lacefield

Demonstrations planned for session

A wide range of activities are planned by the Mobilization for Survival May 25-29 to coincide with the beginning of the UN Special Session on Disarmament.

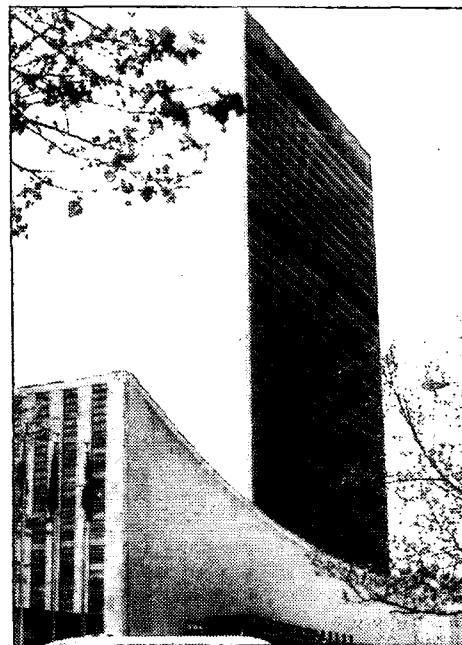
The UN activities will cap the spring campaign of the Mobilization, a coalition of more than 300 peace, religious, anti-nuclear, environmental and community groups committed to zero nuclear weapons, an end to the arms race, a ban on nuclear power and more funding for human needs.

The first of the New York events will be an International Religious Convocation for Survival May 25-26.

The first afternoon there will be a "Witness for Survival" in the South Bronx where an international religious delegation invited by local churches will visit the devastated area to "draw attention to the urgent need to redirect national priorities."

In the evening a "Celebration of Life" will be held at Stephen Wise Free Synagogue. Workshops will take place the next day, as well as a religious procession to the UN.

On May 27 feeder marches will assemble at 10:00 a.m. at 86th Street and Broadway and at Union Square. These feeders will converge at the main assembly point on 41st Street between Broad-



way and 6th Avenue at 11:00 a.m. for a march to the UN at noon.

From 1:00 to 4:00 p.m. there will be a rally at Dag Hammarskjöld Plaza (47th Street and First Avenue) with Hiroshima survivors, Daniel Ellsberg, Ossie Davis, Dr. Helen Caldicott, Pete Seeger, Rep. John Conyers (D-MI) and others. Petitions bearing the Mobilization demands will be presented to the American am-

bassador to the UN, Andrew Young, at that time.

In response to an appeal by the Japanese Federation of Women's Organizations, the Mobilization is sponsoring a meeting of international women on May 28 on the theme "Peace Is a Woman's Issue" 11:00 a.m.-1:30 p.m. at Stuyvesant Park (Second Avenue and 15th Street). There will be speakers, music, workshops and more.

Finally, May 28-29, the International Mobilization for Survival will bring together some 1,000 organizers to map plans for the future of its international movement. A United Japanese Peace movement delegation of 400 people is expected to attend the Mobilization activities and several hundred from European fraternal organizations will also participate.

A mass rally to coincide with the gathering in New York will be held in San Francisco on May 27 with people assembling at 10:00 a.m. at Union Square for a march to the Civic Center for a noon rally.

For further information contact the May 27 Project Office, 339 Lafayette Street, New York, NY 10012; telephone (212) 475-1180 or 228-0450.

—Patrick Lacefield

IN THE NATION

LETELIER/SILKWOOD

Investigations uncover spy firm

By Jeffrey Stein

FT. LAUDERDALE, FLA.

IT HAS ITS OWN SECLUDED RUNWAY protected by chain link fences with armed guards at the farthest corner of a private airport. The building's smoked windows and "keep out" signs warn off the casual visitor.

Inside, on the receptionist's desk in the spacious lobby, a placard reads: "U.S. Government regulations prohibit any discussion of this organization or this facility. Sorry, receptionist is instructed not to answer related inquiries."

A company officer tells a reporter, "We don't want any publicity, even favorable publicity."

Although the visitor might be excused for assuming so, the modern, two-story building on the edge of Ft. Lauderdale's private Executive Airport houses a company that officials insist is not a secret CIA facility.

It is, however, the headquarters of Audio Intelligence Development, Inc., a company that specializes in the design, manufacture and sales of highly sophisticated wire-tapping and related electronic spying equipment.

The company sells virtually all of its equipment to local, state and federal police and intelligence agencies, as well as foreign secret police services.

Two of its reported sales have brought this company—which shuns publicity like the plague—into the spotlight of two politically-charged murder investigations.

The first is that of the murder of former Chilean diplomat Orlando Letelier, who died in a still-unsolved car-bombing in September 1976. The Justice department has charged a Chilean secret police agent, an American named Michael Vernon Townley, as a conspirator in the murder.

Investigators suspect that Townley, acting on the orders of the then Chilean secret police chief, Manuel Contreras Sepulveda, hired anti-communist Cuban exiles in Florida and New Jersey to carry out the murder.

It has been learned that the president of Audio Intelligence Development, Inc., John Holcumb, has told officials that he sold electronic equipment to Townley, who made the purchase in 1976 on behalf of the Chilean secret police.

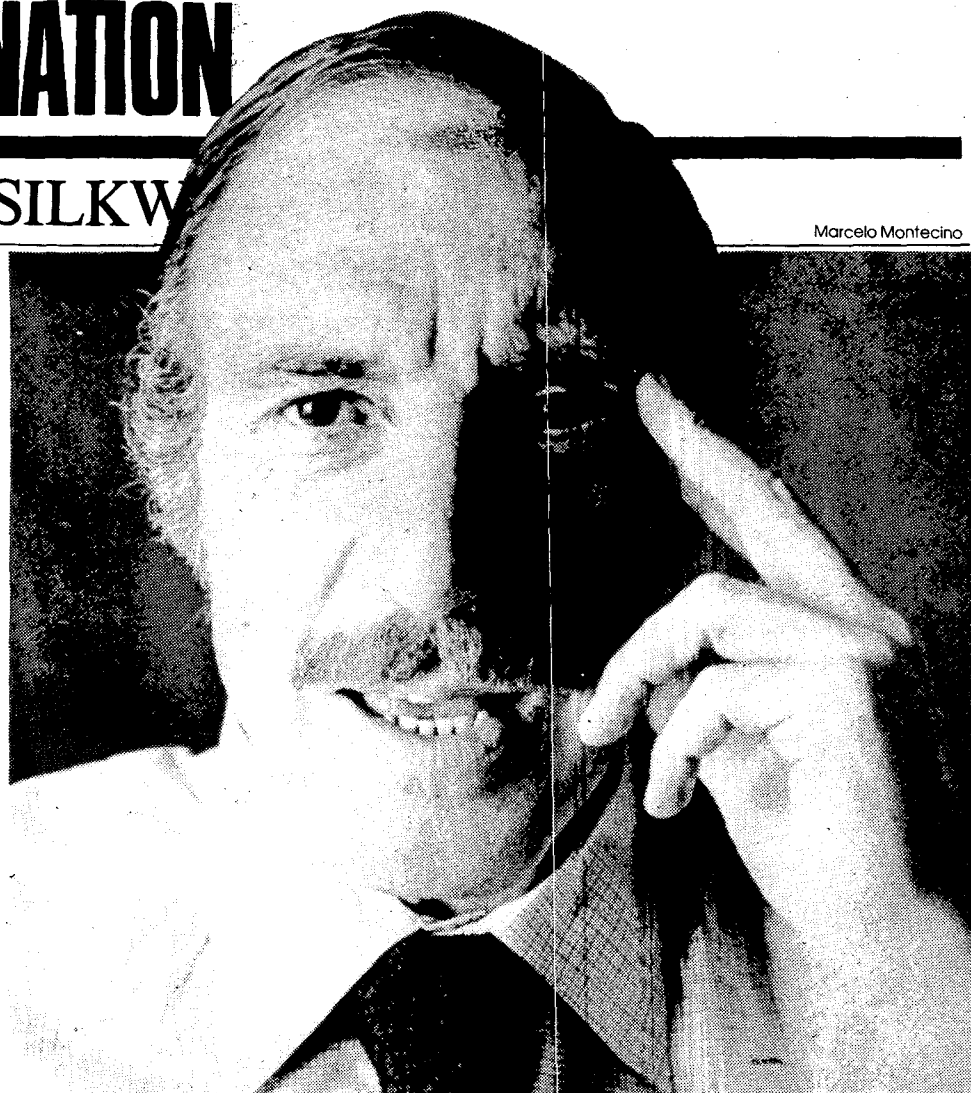
The equipment that Townley is thought to have bought from A.I.D., Inc., is a radio surveillance device that allows one car to follow another from a long distance.

Government investigators are still at a loss to explain why A.I.D., Inc., was allowed to sell such equipment to a foreign police agency representative. A congressional ban passed in 1974 prohibits the sale of security and police equipment to Chile. Applications by private American companies to sell security or military-related equipment to Chile must be approved by the Commerce and State departments.

Bugging equipment manufactured by A.I.D., Inc., has also turned up in the background of an investigation into circumstances surrounding the death of Karen Silkwood, a young lab analyst at the Kerr-McGee nuclear power plant in Oklahoma, who died in a car accident in November 1974.

On the night of her death, Silkwood was on her way to a meeting with a *New York Times* reporter. She reportedly had documentation of faulty nuclear safeguards and accidents that the plant had covered up.

Although the FBI and two congressional committees have dropped their investigations of the case, attorneys for the Silkwood family have filed a \$2.5 million suit against Kerr-McGee on charges that it had been deliberately callous and negli-



Marcelo Montecino

Orlando Letelier (above) was a prominent Chilean exile when he was murdered. Karen Silkwood (right) was on her way to a meeting with a reporter with information about nuclear dangers at the plutonium plant she worked at when she mysteriously died.

gent in its safety performance. The attorneys have also established that the Oklahoma City Police Department intelligence unit had acquired bugging equipment from A.I.D., Inc.

Attorneys want to know why and how the OCPD bought the equipment, since Oklahoma is one of the few states that prohibit wiretapping of any sort. The Silkwood family hopes to prove that A.I.D., Inc., equipment was used in surveillance of Silkwood.

Curious about A.I.D., Inc.'s involvement in the Karen Silkwood case, congressional investigators from the House Oversight and Investigations subcommittee recently began to look into the company's operation.

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Jeff Stein is a reporter in Washington.



BOONDOGGLE

Downed Supersonic Transport may fly once again

By John Markoff

THE SUPERSONIC TRANSPORT (SST), the proposed faster-than-sound airliner shot down by Congress in 1971 after a bitter dispute between environmentalists and the aerospace industry, appears to be taking wing again, spurred by renewed government and corporate interest.

Proponents of the aircraft suggest that technical developments over the past seven years have come close to solving most of the major problems, such as excessive noise and unprofitability, which led to defeat of the first SST and continue to plague the British-French SST, the Concorde.

Opponents are already on the defensive, arguing that if the problems have been solved and the plane is environmentally and economically sound, why must private industry continue to rely on government development subsidies?

The National Aeronautics and Space Administration has requested \$15.9 million for research on various SST technologies in fiscal 1979. Since 1972, the year Congress cancelled the SST program, NASA has spent \$69 million researching SST propulsion systems, electronics, aerodynamics and raw material.

In a new five-year plan released by NASA several weeks ago, the agency revealed it is considering funding a prototype SST in fiscal 1983. NASA sources indicate the cost of the development of this demonstrator aircraft with sophisticated new "variable cycle" jet engines may reach as much as \$400 million.

The idea for the demonstrator prototype—a much smaller version of the proposed aircraft—was submitted to NASA by the Boeing aerospace company last year following a request from NASA.

"We suggested that maybe it would be a good idea if NASA thought about building this demonstrator, which would be a small airplane to pick up additional data," says Boeing spokesman Tom Cole. "We are not building it now and have no intention of building it at this point."

Cole says, however, that Boeing would almost certainly bid on the project if NASA decides to go ahead.

NASA is now funding both in-house and industry research on a second generation SST. "It's the economic aspects, it's the refinement of the aerodynamics, the reduction of weight and structure, the improvement of noise signature, all of those technical issues which are inherent in your ability to make a decision" that have led to the renewed interest, says Jack Suddreth, the NASA official responsible

for the Supersonic Cruise Research Aircraft program. "We are working to bring along the technologies that were a barrier to the last SST or in the Concorde... All we're really doing is exploring whether or not it makes sense to fund the SST."

One reason the SST was defeated in 1971 was the doubtful profitability of a plane that could carry only 125 passengers—an economic pitfall born out by the continuing need of the French and British governments to subsidize the Concorde SST.

"The American financial community has been sitting on their hands waiting for new technological developments," says Gordon Adams, an aerospace industry expert and research director of the Council on Economic Priorities. "They expect the technology to be ready by 1985, which exactly coincides with NASA's timing on this thing."

Boeing's Tom Cole agrees that the economic factor is an important one in deciding whether to go ahead with an SST. "We feel," he says, "that the SST has to be a fairly large plane to fulfill its mission and it has to have a range capability to make its speed worthwhile. The Concorde has a fairly small capacity and has to land and refuel if it wants to go halfway around the world."

The new American SST, it is believed,

would weigh around 700,000 pounds, as much as the giant Boeing 747 wide-bodied jets.

Environmentalists are generally taking a skeptical, wait-and-see attitude toward the NASA plans. Says one Washington lobbyist who fought the first generation SST, "The burden of proof is clearly on NASA and the corporations. We have all the questions and they don't have any of the answers. I think on cost grounds alone the idea of an American SST is crazy."

NASA is evidently seeking Pentagon support for the SST program as a means to help pave the way through Congress, which is normally sympathetic to requests involving national security issues.

Says NASA official Jack Suddreth, "We do work with the technologists in the Department of Defense and in my view they're favorable toward it."

Earlier this year, NASA's associate administrator Dr. James Kramer told Congress, "Fiscal year 1979 will be a bell-weather year in this [SST] program... We see Fiscal Year 1979 as being of particular importance to the evolution of the technologies necessary for any future decision the U.S. may choose to make in this class of aircraft."

(©1978 Pacific News Service)

John Markoff specializing in military issues.

ANTI-APARTHEID

Protests target campus investments



Few universities have complied with student divestiture demands so far. Many have shuffled the issue off onto advisory committees, which have little power and are stacked with unsympathetic people.

Liberation News Service

WHAT BEGAN IN MAY 1977 as a sit-in at Stanford University in which almost 200 students were arrested has swelled this spring into a series of anti-apartheid actions on over 50 college campuses across the country.

Student organizations are resorting to sit-ins, harassment of university trustees and occupations of university buildings in order to press their demand—that their universities sell off stocks and bonds in corporations that support the South African white minority regime by doing business there.

Over a three-week span beginning April 14, students held demonstrations and sit-ins at Amherst, Brandeis, Columbia, Dartmouth, Harvard, MIT, Princeton, Stanford, Tufts, Wesleyan, Williams and Yale.

Students at the University of California's nine campuses, for example, called for a special meeting with the system's Board of Regents. "If they don't make plans to divest," one U.C. activist warned, "...we have militant actions planned to force them to do so."

Many of the student protests have linked the anti-apartheid issue with other ongoing struggles in the U.S. At Brandeis University, for instance, students held a demonstration April 30 to demand that instead of investing in apartheid, the university should use its money to maintain the "Transitional Year Program," a financial aid program for Third World students that is currently being phased out. The university claimed the students' demands were not financially feasible.

To dramatize the reality of apartheid Brandeis students set up a shanty town, like those South African blacks are forced to inhabit, in front of the administration building.

The wave of protests is in large part a result of organizing by a Northeast coalition that formed in December 1977 and planned a conference at Yale at the end of March that turned out to be a rousing success. More than 500 students representing 48 schools brainstormed about strategies for the spring.

Few universities have acted.

So far, few universities have complied

with student divestiture demands. Many have responded by shuffling the issue into "shareholder responsibility committees." Most of these committees have no power and are intended only to give the appearance that the administration is taking the matter seriously.

Many of these committees were set up following student protests in the early 1970s. They are usually composed of students, faculty, alumni and administration members. Most have only an advisory role; and some have lost even that.

During the past six months the committees have come up with a variety of responses. Hampshire College, for instance, followed its committee's recommendation for full divestment. Yale's committee—the only one at an Ivy League school to support divestment as yet—has suggested that the trustees sell off stocks slowly so as to realize their full value. The Yale trustees have yet to decide whether to go along with the committee's decision.

But most of the university "shareholder" committees are basically rubber

stamps and are packed with students, faculty and alumni sympathetic to university interests.

Sullivan principles.

The most common argument university administrators are using against divestment demands is that the corporations can moderate apartheid by taking a role in it. This argument has become known as the "Sullivan Principles," after Rev. Leon Sullivan, pastor of the Philadelphia Zion Baptist church and one of the founders of the national black self-help organization, Opportunities Industrialization Centers. (The Boston *Real Paper* reports Sullivan also is a member of the board of directors of General Motors, which, according to GM director of public relations for overseas operations, Tom Pond, has \$188 million invested in South Africa and the Middle East.)

Sullivan suggests that the way to effect political change in South Africa is to work from within. To that end he has put forth what amounts to a program of af-

firmative action for American corporations there.

His six principles would have corporations in South Africa desegregate eating and work facilities, promote fair employment practices, give equal pay for equal work, develop training programs, increase the numbers of blacks in supervisory positions and strive to improve the quality of life for blacks outside the work environment.

General Motors has already adopted the six principles and, early in 1977, 11 other companies decided to do the same. The list reads like a broker's dream: American Cyanamid, Burroughs Corp., Caltex Petroleum, Citicorp, Ford, IBM, International Harvester, 3M, Mobil Oil, Otis Elevator and Carbide.

Then Sullivan and Columbia President William McGill convened two meetings with a number of officials from prestigious private schools to try to come up with some tactics to defuse the divestment movement. They decided to send out a letter to urge other schools to adopt the Sullivan guidelines. The letter will bear the imprimatur of those schools who sent representatives to the Columbia meetings: Columbia, Dartmouth, Harvard, MIT, Oberlin, Swarthmore, Tufts, University of Minnesota and Wellesley.

At many of the signatory schools themselves, however, news of the letter has been kept very hush-hush. Officials at several didn't even know about it. "I usually hear about everything that's going on," commented one university director of public relations. "This is very peculiar."

Perhaps the silence is because many of the schools endorsing the letter did so without waiting for the final divestment decision from their advisory committees or their trustees.

About 200 other schools can expect to receive the letter any day now, says the *Real Paper*.

The holes in the Sullivan argument are clear. First of all, students as well as South African blacks point out, any foreign investment helps bolster the apartheid regime. Even the American government knows that South African blacks want U.S. corporations out of their country, as a recently leaked government document revealed:

"American firms here will become increasingly controversial and rationale for continued presence will seem less and less persuasive to growing numbers of blacks," the American ambassador to South Africa admitted in the cable.

Furthermore, critics note that the apartheid system denies black people equality in so many ways that corporate pacifiers would hardly make a ripple. ■

Kodak decides to stay in South Africa

Kodak shareholders were unwilling to follow the lead of Polaroid and get out.

Kodak board chairman Walter A. Fallon insists the company has not disregarded American trade restrictions with South Africa's apartheid government and protests that Kodak is not responsible for the country's racist white minority rule. At present, trade restrictions with the Pretoria regime apply only to military equipment.

Last fall another monolith in the photographic supply business, the Polaroid Company, halted all sales to South Africa, leaving a share of the photo market in the country up for grabs. Polaroid's announcement followed the discovery that the South African government had been secretly buying Polaroid products

through a phony drug store account. The company had previously pledged to cut off supplies to the South African government under pressure from protests by Polaroid workers and anti-apartheid activists. The protesters had targeted use of Polaroid materials in producing the hated "passbooks" which all black South Africans are required to carry. Fallon did not say whether this was one of the uses to which Kodak film will be put.

In 1977 alone, Eastman Kodak amassed \$643.4 million in profits from its worldwide sales. Kodak's profits in South Africa may account for as little as one percent of all sales, according to Paul Irish of the American Committee on Africa. But discontinuing direct sales to one "trouble spot" on the globe, he theorizes, would set a precedent to stop sales to repressive regimes in Chile or the Philippines, for example—a gesture which would cut into millions of dollars in corporate profits a year. ■

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NATIVE AMERICANS

Defenders of the Hopi Way make a stand at Oraibi

By Tom Barry

OLD ORAIBI, ARIZ.

BARELY VISIBLE FROM THE road, the Hopi pueblo lies low on the windblown, desert mesa. The brown stone homes seem part of the dusty mesa. Sixty miles south rise the sacred San Francisco Peaks—the home of the Hopi eagles and one of the four corners of their universe. Neither telephone nor electric wires breaks the natural unity or destroys the peace that comes from Oraibi's isolation from the non-Indian world.

The people of this Hopi village intend to keep it that way. Immediately stopping the curious and the tourists, a handpainted sign at the village's entrance warns: "No outside white visitors allowed, because of your failure to obey the laws of our tribe as well as your own."

A harsh message, but for the Hopis it's a lesson learned from many generations' experience and a resolve they feel necessary if they're to remain independent and culturally whole.

This determination to stay apart helps explain why Oraibi is the oldest continually inhabited village in North America.

It may also explain why the ancestral town of Oraibi is the mecca of a new movement to ensure the continued existence of the Indian people and the land they call Mother Earth.

Since 1100 A.D.—separated from the white world by miles of barren mesas—the Hopis in Oraibi have farmed their corn in the desert flood plains and steadfastly maintained their traditional religion and other cultural ways.

But with the advent of the energy crisis and the discovery of coal under their reservation, the Hopi's hiding place from the 20th century is no longer safe.

Danger time.

"We are coming to the Danger Time," says Hopi religious leader John Lansa, an elderly traditional Oraibi leader who sees Hopi land and traditions being threatened by the greed of the energy corporations and of the Hopi Tribal Council. "The younger generation on the council are going for the money. But we depend on the earth to make our living; it's our social security. The councillors tell our people there's no danger from strip-mining, but it's money, money, money that they are going for."

Over the vigorous protest of traditional religious leaders, the Hopi Tribal Council in 1966 signed a 35-year lease with Peabody Coal to strip-mine the Black Mesa for bituminous coal. Also signed away, in this water-short region, were rights to 37 billion gallons of water, to transport coal by slurry lime to the Navajo and Mojave power plants.

To the Hopi religious leaders Black Mesa is the resting place for the Heart of Mother Earth and a centering point for the planet, and to disturb Black Mesa is to disturb the balance of the universe.

With help from the Native American Rights Fund, Hopi traditional leaders brought suit claiming the Hopi council didn't represent the Hopi people and had no authority to lease the tribe's land.

Ever since the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) first organized the council in 1935 over the objections of the traditional religious leaders, the legitimacy of the tribal council has been at the center of Hopi politics.

In their suit against the Peabody lease the traditionals said, "The land is sacred and if the land is abused the sacredness of Hopi life and all other life will disappear." The court dismissed the suit and



David Monongye, Hopi elder

Photos/Tom Barry

the strip-mining has begun, but the debate continues.

The religious leaders from Oraibi and the other traditional villages like Hotvilla feel the council is intent on smashing the remaining vestiges of traditional power so that it can proceed to open up the rest of the reservation to energy companies eagerly waiting at their border.

The Hopi way.

In a letter to President Carter in October 1977, four Hopi religious leaders claimed the council "was imposed upon the Hopi people through a fraudulent election."

The leaders told how they began boycotting the council when they realized that the council was established "to function basically as a branch of the U.S. government, as a puppet government with the Secretary of the Interior as their ultimate authority."

The Hopi leaders explained to Carter that before the establishment of the council government by BIA agents the Hopis had their own form of government and decision-making and had lived in peace for many centuries, and that the Hopi people have for the most part disregarded the policies of the council and held to the

authority of the Hopi religious societies.

"We have now become aware that [the council's] ultimate intention is to strip the traditional religious leaders of all power and authority over our land and our life. Something must be done to stop the dictatorial manner the tribal council has been operating. The views, opinions, and wishes of the traditionally established village people have been totally ignored. This is a violation of our freedom of speech and religion and of our basic human rights," the Hopi leaders wrote.

The Friends of the Hopi, a white support group for the Hopis, estimates that over 30,000 telegrams have been sent to Carter supporting the Hopi statement.

The tribal government is the white man's government, says Thomas Banyacya, official spokesman of the traditionals, not the government of the Hopi people. "We have our own religion and our own way of life and our own laws. We don't depend on anybody's ideas on how we should manage ourselves because we already know how to live and respect nature since our livelihood comes from the earth."

The Hopi are an independent sovereign people who have never signed a treaty of

any kind with the American government. And because the U.S. has never acquired any Hopi land by conquest or agreement, the federal government cannot claim jurisdiction over the Hopi, he argues.

Battle for the land.

The traditional Hopis' fight for survival is embodied in a case over land jurisdiction pending in Keams Canyon tribal court. The case may determine whether the tribal council or the villages control the land.

Herbert Hamana, the leader of the Sand Clan in Oraibi, is challenging a tribal council decision to construct a building on Sand Clan land without permission of the clan or the village. The tribal council contends it has jurisdiction over all Hopi lands and that is has the authority to administer all tribal lands including clan property.

The 1937 Hopi constitution granted separate powers to the traditional leaders and the villages, but the council has chosen to ignore those provisions and to make decisions without the consent of the traditional leaders. If the council receives a fav-

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Native sovereignty under attack in Congress

The long simmering war against Native American sovereignty, rekindled by discoveries of vast coal and uranium deposits on Indian lands, has entered an intensified phase. In recent months federal and state government officials, prodded by corporate interests, have launched a concerted drive to reverse a tide of court rulings tending to favor and uphold Indian rights.

The issues are similar to those in the Indian Wars of the last century: control of land, water and minerals in the West. Past battles have been fought mainly in the federal courts, but elected officials are showing a new boldness in entering the fray.

In September 1977 the Western Conference of the Council of State Governments fired a warning shot with a resolution calling for the end of Indian sovereignty. "The United States Constitution provides for only two sovereign powers: the United States and the states," declared the state officials. "Indian tribes," they added, "are political subdivisions of the United States and are not sovereign in their own sphere."

The Western Conference specifically recommended that:

- Final authority over Indian land-use planning be held by state planning agencies;
- Congress prohibit Indian taxation of non-Indian business on Indian lands;
- Legislation be enacted to prohibit Indian courts from exercising criminal or civil jurisdiction over non-Indians;
- Congress allow state governments to levy taxes on Indian lands and business.

The western states—where most of the Indian tribes live—feel threatened by recent federal court rulings on Indian land claims and jurisdictional disputes. The new military and political sophistication of the country's tribal leaders is also a cause for concern.

Rep. Jack Cunningham (R-WA) termed a recent court decision that reserved 50 percent of all the salmon and steelhead trout in his state for Indians "only the tip of the iceberg" of the Indian threat.

Cunningham has introduced the "Native American Equal Opportunity Act," a measure that would abrogate all treaties entered into by the federal government with Indian tribes and end all special provisions for Indian fishing and hunting rights.

"The U.S. has always been a country of equals," says Cunningham, "with no individual or group subjected to subor-

dinate or special rights. Indian policy must reflect this same fairness and not continue the special patchwork of separate governments scattered throughout the land."

Cunningham claims that Indians were free of the federal trust status they would fare better as American citizens. But John Redhouse, a director of the National Indian Youth Council (NIYC), denounces this approach as really a corporate, governmental, industrial effort to deny Indian people their tribal and individual rights.

Cunningham's Washington colleague, Rep. Lloyd Meeds, a longtime supporter of Indian rights, reversed his position after he almost lost his last election. Meeds has introduced the "Omnibus Indian Jurisdiction Act of 1979," which would have much the same effect as the Cunningham bill.

Meeds claims there exists "a direct conflict between Indian tribal aspirations and the constitutional rights of American citizens. I believe where tribal aspirations collide with constitutional principles the tribe's interests must yield," he says.

The backlash by state legislators has also already taken some drastic turns. One bill introduced last year in the New Mexico legislature would have denied Indians the right to vote—along with the state's other disenfranchised: idiots, the insane and convicted criminals—unless they submitted to the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the state.

The advocates of tribal sovereignty view the legislative backlash as a giving in to corporate interests. Del Lavato, chairman of the All Indian Pueblo Council, charges that the politicians are "politically motivated by economic interest and they promote it under the banner that it is essential to the social well-being of the citizens of this state."

"Obviously the entity that controls the land will also control the development of the resources," he says. "By gaining control over Indian lands—control of hunting and fishing, recreation, the expansion of municipalities and utility easements—development will occur regardless of what the Indian thinks or what happens to the Indians."

"To the Pueblo people," adds Lovato, "tribal sovereignty means the right to self-government with all inherent powers and responsibilities. It means the right of a tribe to govern its people and its lands and resources free of external interference."

—Tom Barry
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Navajos win concessions from oil companies

Seventeen days after hundreds of Navajo Indians in southern Utah shut down drilling by four major oil companies in the Aneth Oilfield, representatives of Texaco, Continental Oil, Phillips Petroleum and Superior Oil agreed to most of their demands.

On March 30 local residents occupied the Texaco pump station and office near Montezuma Creek to protest treatment of Navajos by the oil companies, unfair royalty schedules of the oil leases with the Navajo tribe, and environmental damage caused by the companies.

The occupation involved most residents of the Navajo communities in the Aneth Oilfield. It was led by the Coalition for Navajo Liberation and the American Indian Movement.

The companies initially refused to negotiate until the occupiers left the company offices and opened the field, which produces over 5.5 million barrels of oil each year. But after two weeks of the occupation and a bit of pushing by Navajo tribe and Department of the Interior officials, corporate representatives agreed to negotiate some 20 demands. By the end of the three-day negotiations the oil companies agreed to 18 of the demands, promising, among other things:

- To reseed and reclaim damaged Navajo land;
- To prohibit oil company employees from drinking on the reservation and from carrying firearms;
- To compensate all Navajos who have had grazing land damaged or livestock killed by oil drilling operations;
- To replace Navajo water wells damaged by drilling;
- To give preference in hiring to Navajos;
- To provide a \$5,000 scholarship for area students each year.

Navajo tribal officials promised the occupiers that they would have the Navajo Tribal Utility extend power lines

beyond the larger Arizona section of the tribe into Utah. And the oil companies agreed to use their influence with El Paso Natural Gas to have gas piped to the homes of the occupiers. Although Aneth is energy-rich in natural gas, oil and coal, the power companies have made no utilities available to the rural Navajos.

The oil companies, while meeting most of the demands of the Aneth community, refused to open negotiations on their oil leases. The leases were first negotiated in the early '50s by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA)—the federal agency that administers Indian reservations in the U.S.—and were signed without the written approval of the Navajo tribe.

The 99-year leases give the tribe only 12.5 percent of the value of the oil produced. The demonstrators charged that other leases negotiated more recently brought in 60 percent royalties. They wanted community participation in renegotiating old leases and a limit of ten years on new leases.

"The question of lease renegotiation is basically a federal problem—a matter between the federal government and the tribe itself," insisted John Masson, negotiator for Texaco.

During the negotiations, the tribe and the representative of the Interior department said they would start reviewing old oil leases.

Navajo tribal chairman Peter MacDonald announced that he was pleased with the settlement. And Jonas Mustache, president of the Aneth chapter of the Navajo tribe, said "I am surprised and proud of Utah Navajos for a job well done."

Leadership of the Coalition for Navajo Liberation was dissatisfied with the companies' refusal to renegotiate the exploitative lease agreements. They decided to end the occupation, however, because of majority sentiment of the occupiers.

—Tom Barry
(©1978 LNS)

Hopis stand at Oraibi

Continued from page 6.

orable decision in this case, the traditionalists fear that the last remnants of their authority will disappear.

Another issue that has brought the council and the traditionalists into conflict is a \$5 million land claims settlement awarded to the Hopis by the Indian Land Claims Commission.

The original land claims case was brought in 1951 by attorney John Boyden. Ignoring the protests of the Hopi traditionalists, the Claims Commission in 1976 determined that the Hopis were eligible for a \$5 million reimbursement for "damages caused by the federal government's failure to deal fairly and honorably with the Hopis," and for lands stolen or lost.

The council agreed to the settlement (10 percent of which went to Boyden in fees) and then brought it before the people for a ratifying vote. The religious leaders called a boycott of the vote in protest. Out of a tribal population of about 8,000, only 240 members voted—about 3 percent of the entire tribe. Despite the small vote, the federal government approved the settlement and is now planning hearings on how to best distribute the money.

By accepting the money settlement for lost reservation lands the council agrees

to forfeit any future claims on the land.

"If we fall for this \$5 million and sell our land then we've made a grave mistake," says Earl Pela, "not only for the Hopi but for all other native people coming after us. If we accept this \$5 million, our way of life will be at an end and we may soon be travelling around with our bedrolls on our backs."

Another issue of contention is a proposed division of the Navajo-Hopi Joint Use Area supported by the tribal council and the BIA. Oraibi has become the meeting ground for a Navajo-Hopi Unity Committee that is opposing the division, which would force the relocation of 3,500 Navajos and a small number of Hopis.

Although the Hopis have relatively little to lose by the division of lands, the traditional leaders have joined with Navajo groups in opposition. "The government wants to divide the land and fence off separate areas for the Hopi and for the Navajo," says Banyaca, "but we have lived with the Navajo for a long time and we can work out our problems without the government."

Friends of the Hopi can be contacted at P.O. Box 1852, Flagstaff, Ariz. 86002.

Tom Barry is a free-lance writer in the Southwest.

TRIALS

Rush to judgment in Oklahoma

By E.N. Earley

McALESTER, OKLA.

IN A SMALL DEATH ROW CELL DEEP inside the Oklahoma State Penitentiary here, a 34-year old Cherokee Indian sits in total silence, staring at the white-washed walls and bars that surround him. His name is Gene Leroy Hart and he is accused of murdering three tiny Girl Scouts who were dragged from their tents, sexually molested, repeatedly beaten and slashed during a spring campout nearly a year ago.

But Hart's case involves more than murder.

It is also the story of a bizarre investigation involving murder clues hidden in secret caves, vanishing fingerprints, volunteer posses of cowboys in pickup trucks and a man-hunt by jungle-trained Vietnam veterans called "Spooks."

It is a story of how a friendly Oklahoma town called Locust Grove changed overnight into a hamlet haunted by fear, where strangers no longer were welcome, where doors that never were locked now are bolted, and where loaded guns are kept nearby.

And it is a tale of people divided, brother against brother, friend against friend, white man against Indian, as Oklahomans choose sides to argue: "Is Hart the killer?"

Next month, Hart is scheduled for trial. American Indian Movement leaders say they will protest. An unknown vigilante has promised to kill Hart. And whenever Hart is brought from his cell, crowds of up to 300 gather. Some people jeer, others cheer, most just push and shove for a glimpse.

And when the trial finally begins, more will be at stake than Hart's future.

Mayes County Attorney Sidney Wise, who was unknown across the state before the murders, is now a candidate for state attorney general. His staff openly admits that a guilty verdict will insure him easy victory. An acquittal could leave him unemployed.

The current attorney general is campaigning for governor this year and the governor is running for the U.S. Senate. They too are expected to get involved in the highly publicized prosecution.

"I thought once we caught Hart our troubles were over," said Mayes County Sheriff Glen "Pete" Weaver, "but the damn thing just keeps getting worse."

Even the reputation of the state crime bureau is at stake because of the unusual way the case was handled.

The murders.

The bodies of Michelle Guse, age 9; Lori Lee Farmer, 8; and Doris Denise Milner, 10, all of the Tulsa area, were discovered by a young camp counselor at dawn June 13 outside their tent at Camp Scott about a mile from Locust Grove, a northeastern Oklahoma town of about 1,000.

They had been attacked the first night of a two-week campout. Their tent was the only one without an adult counselor in it. Two of the girls were beaten to death. The third was strangled.

Officials announced they had two good clues—a footprint and a full set of "picture perfect" fingerprints found on one of the dead girls' thighs.

The next day, Wise was furious because the media had printed stories about the footprint. "The murderer has sure gotten rid of those shoes now," he yelled. The incident marked the beginning of a bitter feud that ended with Wise calling for a news blackout and refusing to tell the press anything.

Three days after the slayings, Wise had two specially trained tracking dogs flown in from Pennsylvania. Within a week, one of them had died of heat prostration and the other was struck by an automobile.

Investigators gave one neighbor of the camp a lie detector test after new tracking dogs led searchers to his cabin. A newspaper ran the caption "Slayer's son



The case of Gene Leroy Hart (above) accused of murdering three Girl Scouts, has stirred local passions, and observers question whether Hart, despite significant problems in the case against him, will be able to receive a fair trial.

der his photograph by mistake. The man suffered a stroke.

Fresh tracking dogs led investigators to a small cave about a mile from the murder site. Inside, officials found empty food cans and pieces of two photographs of three women.

The photographs were distributed to newspapers which printed them on the front pages with the caption, "Who are these people?" Within 24 hours, the women in the photographs had been identified as guests at a 1969 wedding of a prison employee's daughter.

Investigators said Hart, who was in prison at the time, had worked as a dark-room assistant and had attended the wedding.

Escaped four years before.

Hart was serving a ten-year sentence for the kidnap and rape of a pregnant woman when the wedding was held. He was paroled later that year, but within months was arrested on burglary charges and returned to prison.

While awaiting a court hearing in 1973 on another matter, Hart escaped from Sheriff Weaver's jail—the only prisoner ever to do so. He had been missing for nearly four years when the girls were murdered, but Weaver was confident that he was in the same area as the camp.

Hart's mother lived less than a mile from the camp and Weaver claimed various informants had told him several times Hart was in Locust Grove. "Every time we went up to get him, he was gone," Weaver explained. "Hell, he's related to half them folks up there."

Wise charged Hart with three counts of murder, each punishable by death. There was just one problem, investigators said Hart's fingerprints did not match the ones found on the body.

A few minutes after the charges were filed, Sheriff Weaver jumped into his car and raced from the camp. A farmer had seen a man matching Hart's description hiding in a cave. It was getting dark so Weaver called for volunteers to encircle a one-mile area. More than 200 lawmen and 400 farmers, teenagers, and businessmen responded. Many of them had heard about the posse on their citizens' band radios. Some came armed, some came drunk, a few were arrested for possessing marijuana.

As Weaver and the lawmen—some of them wearing bullet-proof vests and carry-

ing automatic weapons—moved slowly through the dense brush, the 400 volunteers used their cars and trucks to form a circle. They turned on their vehicles' headlights to make sure no one could slip past the chain of cars and trucks. "He could be hiding in the trees," Weaver warned. "Be careful."

By daybreak, most of the volunteers had abandoned the project and the only things lawmen had found were ticks, chiggers and snakes. A helicopter with a heat-sensing device also failed to find anything.

Reward.

Weaver decided to try an older approach at catching fugitives. He offered a \$5,000 reward for Hart.

Little happened until July 30th when some tracking dogs stumbled upon a small cave near the slaying site. Written on one wall in black ink was the taunting message, "The killer was here. Bye Bye Fools, 77-6-17."

Weaver immediately said it was a message from Hart. "He's just signing his work—those murders—like a painter signs art." But others doubted the killer would be hiding in the woods with a felt-tip pen.

The cave provided few additional clues, but it did suggest the slayer might still be in the Locust Grove area and bounty hunters moved in.

A group of Vietnam veterans called "Spooks" bragged they would capture Hart within 24 hours by setting up ambush points. American Indian Movement leaders were horrified and called Weaver's investigation a "circus."

Hart's mother, Ella Mae Buckskin, asked for AIM protection because she said she was being followed constantly and harassed. When police asked the 51-year old woman why she was buying chewing tobacco one day, she stuck a wad of it in her mouth and spit it at them. "Cause I chew it, that's why," she said. "It ain't for Gene."

Hiding with a medicine man.

Mrs. Buckskin told reporters she had undergone a vision and seen her son in Canada. But Hart was not out of the state, lawmen soon discovered. He was less than 50 miles away, hiding with an Indian medicine man in a broken-down wooden shack.

A group of shotgun-armed agents stormed the shack, breaking down its doors, capturing Hart alone, unarmed.

They had been tipped off by an informant who collected the reward.

Despite massive news coverage, including one story which called Hart "the killer," Wise and his staff are confident Hart can get a fair trial in Mayes County.

"He killed them here and we're going to convict him here," says assistant prosecutor Hobbs Royce. "It's as simple as that."

Hart's attorneys refuse all comment.

And the questions linger unanswered.

State crime bureau agents now say there never were any fingerprints on the dead girl's body. That was misinformation, they say, a mistake. Hart's attorneys have filed a court petition demanding a thorough investigation.

And why would a man be carrying two photographs with him eight years after a wedding if he was hiding in a cave?

There is another mystery officials do not like to discuss. More than a month before the murders someone had broken into another girls' tent, opened a bag of doughnuts, eaten some and left the bag at the entrance, with a note beneath. It said three girls would be killed in one of the tents soon. A counselor destroyed the note, thinking it was a prank because a boy scout camp is nearby and pranks are common.

And how did the killer choose the one tent that lacked a counselor that night?

And what of the mysterious footprint found outside the dead girls' tent? One agent believes the tracks came from new tennis shoes—the type young boys get when they go to camp for the first time.

Before authorities, under heavy public pressure to find a killer, set out for Hart, rumors pointed toward a counselor or a Boy Scout.

Outside the prosecution, it is not known what if any evidence exists against Hart, beyond those torn photographs in the cave.

But almost everyone here expects that, in the heavily charged atmosphere, he will be held over after the June preliminary hearing for trial.

Gene Leroy Hart remains silent, sitting in his cell, staring at the walls and bars surrounding him, waiting for his day in court.

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E.N. Earley is the Washington correspondent for the Tulsa (Okla.) Tribune. He has covered the Locust Grove murder case since its beginning.

IN THE WORLD

ITALY

The Red Brigade's macabre parody

By Diana Johnstone

ALDO MORO'S GHOST VOWED to haunt Italy, and no doubt will. In life an enigmatic unifier, masking contention with ambiguity, he died not with a rallying cry but disowning his political heirs. Bitterly, his last letters demanded that the colleagues and state who had made no move to save him refrain from honoring his corpse. Moro's testament disinherits the politicians who would interpret the posthumous wishes of a martyred statesman to suit their own ends. In death, Moro preserves his inscrutability.

Had Moro been assassinated rather than kidnapped on March 16, he would have died as a martyr to the state and to the "historic compromise" between his Christian Democratic party (DC) and the Communist party (PCI). But between March 16 and his brutal "execution" by the Red Brigades on May 9, a second Moro became known to the public through his prolific letters written in captivity, pleading with the Christian Democratic government to negotiate his release in exchange of "political prisoners." This second Moro was not a statesman willing to suffer martyrdom for the state. He was very simply a man who did not want to die.

The Moro who did not want to die no doubt touched the hearts of millions of his countrymen who were hostile or indifferent to the enigmatic statesman. But he alarmed and deeply embarrassed the political class, forced to sacrifice him rather than let the state lose all authority in the eyes of its citizens, its police (who were reportedly ready to revolt if the government gave in to Red Brigade demands) and other governments. Indeed, had the DC made concessions to save Moro, the gesture would have been widely resented as favoritism for a big shot and condemned by some of the same people who now blame the government for unfeeling indifference to his fate.

A "prisoner of war."

In their painful dilemma, Italian political leaders claimed that the captive Moro was no longer himself. He retorted that he was no doubt in an unpleasant situation but quite in command of his faculties. Indeed, Moro had always been a compromiser; what could be more consistent and genuine than for him to seek compromise when his own life was at stake? Trapped by murderous fanatics, looking desperately for a way out, Moro appeared in his very weakness to embody what was perhaps least to be despised in Christian Democracy, with all its corruption and hypocrisy: a flexible realism and concern for the individual, starting, no doubt, with oneself. If this has produced a bad social and political system, the Red Brigades, by pumping Moro full of bullets, provided a reminder that there may be worse ones.

Accepting the rules of the war game imposed on him by the Red Brigades, Moro described himself as a "prisoner of war." As Serge July observed in the Paris daily *Liberation*, "by killing their only prisoner, captured in the course of their 'war against the Italian State,' the Red Brigades became war criminals" by their own logic. Their secret "trial" of a defenseless man in the name of a "people" rigorously excluded from all their decisions, and whose fate they presumed to manipulate through technological mastery, their merciless "execution" of their prisoner, were the only clear indications of the sort of social order they want to set up.

Such an image of "communism" is designed to reconcile large numbers of peo-



Mourners placed flowers under large portraits of ex-Premier Aldo Moro at the site where he was found dead inside a car on May 9. Contrary to Moro's expressed wishes, he was honored in state memorial services after his assassination by Italy's Red Brigades.

ple to Moro-style Christian Democracy as the lesser of the evils. But it is questionable how long Moro-style Christian Democracy will survive him.

Moro was the essence of a certain staunch Catholicism whose very pessimism about the things of this world favored the utmost pragmatism in adjusting to reality. Moro was the philosophical center of Italian Christian Democracy, which was not, as the Red Brigades claimed, merely a lackey of the imperialist multinationals, but an expression of Italian contradictions and culture. In one of his last letters, Moro asked suspiciously if "German or American pressure is perhaps behind the hard line taken against me?" Such rigor in the name of abstract principle did not seem to Moro an authentic expression of Italian Christian Democracy.

End of historic compromise?

By humanizing in torment the leading spokesman of a discredited political leadership, the Red Brigades have probably restored a large measure of public sympathy to the DC, as its strong showing of 42.5 percent of the vote in the May 14 municipal elections seemed to show. In rejecting martyrdom, Moro may have been the first to foresee that dead, he would not successfully carry on his life's work, contrary to the rhetoric of memorials. A DC strengthened by his ordeal may take a different course.

The crisis seemed to bring the PCI and DC closer together. Nobody wanted to give terrorists the satisfaction of succeeding in disrupting the parties' unity. But the Red Brigades' bloody exploits have raised doubts about the historic compromise, which was supposed to assure national unity, and has nearly set off civil war. The PCI's drop from 35.6 percent of the vote in the 1976 parliamentary elections to 26.5 percent on May 14 confirms that by edging out of the opposition, the PCI has lost a good part of its constituency.

The pressure from below is for the party to assert its separate identity more forcefully, to press the DC harder to get going with reforms. But the DC, strengthened, is in a better position to resist PCI pressures, especially since the improved showing of the Socialist party in the municipal elections suggests the eventual prospect of dropping the PCI for a return to a center-left DC-Socialist alliance.

The current leaders of the DC show no sign of wanting to drop the advantages of PCI support, but they may be pressed from the right to give little or nothing in return.

"Death to the Reds."

"Moro, you wanted communism, now enjoy it!—and then croak" was the moral drawn in April on Roman walls by some fascist groups. In the crowds that gathered around DC headquarters after the

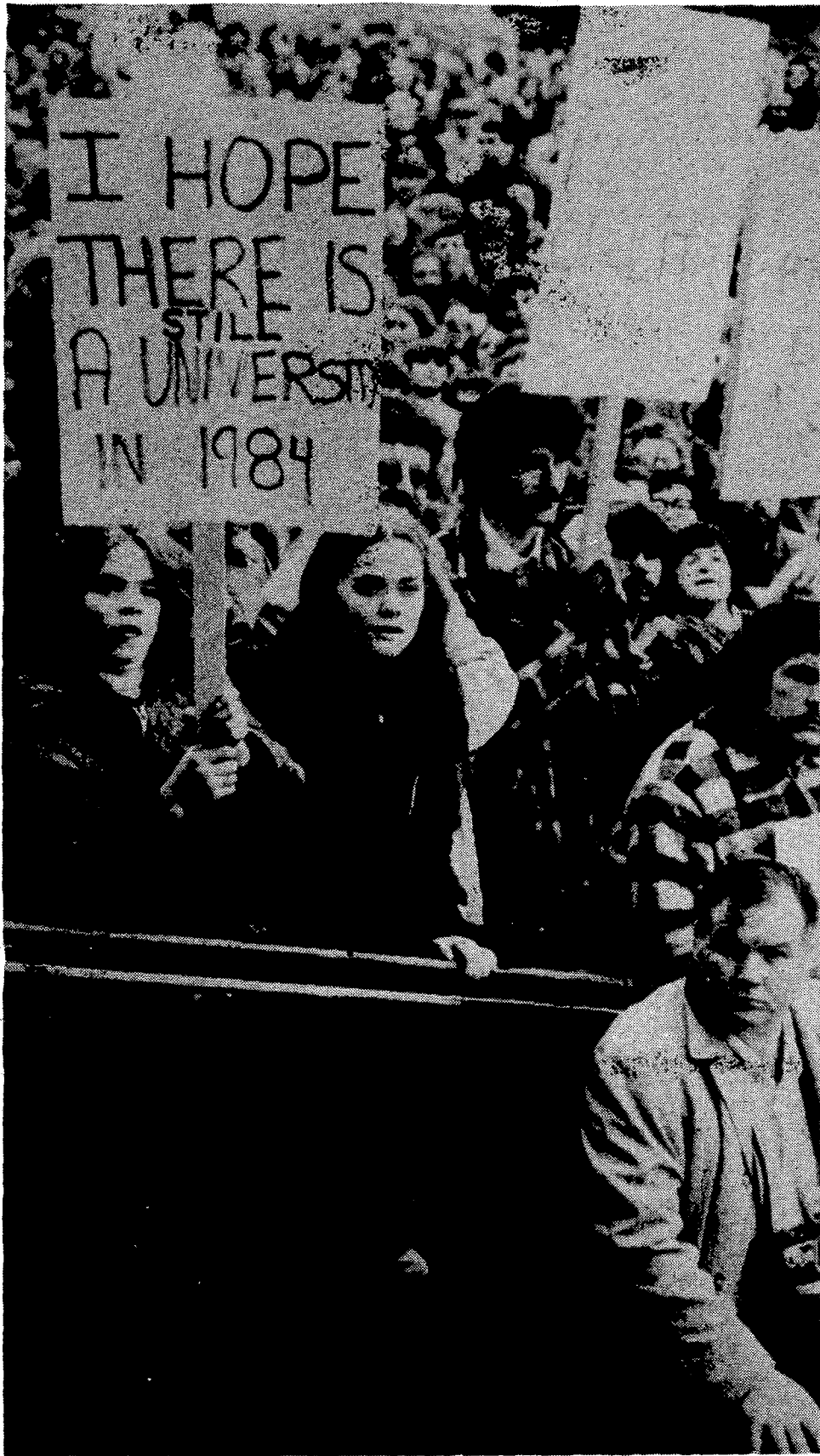
discovery of Moro's body, there were shouts of "Death to the red," apparently with more than the Red Brigades in mind. By depositing the body near PCI headquarters in Rome, the Red Brigades not only took another symbolic crack at the historic compromise and delivered a none-too-veiled threat to PCI leaders, they also set off the rumor in the most ignorant segments of Catholic right-wing opinion that Moro had been held and murdered by the PCI. How long will right-wing politicians resist the temptation to cash in on such confusion?

The left is confronted with the unwelcome fact that it is not enough to brand the Red Brigades "fascists" and to eject them to the opposite end of the political spectrum. The Red Brigades are acting out a macabre parody of a certain Leninist revolutionary mystique that most of the left has long since implicitly abandoned.

But to define precisely what it is that separates them from the Red Brigades, people on the left, and especially the far left, need to sound the very sources and limits of their political commitments and pretensions. In the process, many apparent agreements will turn out to have been based on misunderstandings, on rhetorical tricks and ambiguities no less mystifying than those perpetrated by Moro. The verbal glue is coming unstuck. The "historic compromise" is not all that is in danger of falling apart. ■

CANADA

Conservatives make harsh changes



Students demonstrating in Winnipeg against university budget cuts in Manitoba.

By Doug Smith

WINNIPEG

PRETTY SOON PEOPLE WILL have to make a reservation to march around the legislature," remarked one spectator at the May Day rally at the provincial legislature in Winnipeg, Manitoba. It was at least the eighth or ninth demonstration against the government since last October when the Progressive Conservatives ousted the New Democratic party government of Ed Schreyer.

That election saw a stunning polarization and the decimation of the provincial Liberal party as all the "free enterprise" voters rallied behind Sterling Lyon's Conservatives. Lyon ran a campaign with few solid promises, instead stressing his intention of "free Manitoba" and cutting down on the civil service, claiming Manitoba had too much government. He felt that too many of the outside advisers brought in by the NDP in their eight years in office were "doctrinaire socialists."

The NDP had seemingly run out of steam and new ideas, as Schreyer campaigned mainly on a record that included a provincial automobile insurance plan, premium-free medicare, increased social services, public housing, a tax rebate for low income citizens and rent controls. The Conservatives scored well with their criticism of government investments in a number of failing business enterprises, investments that were usually made to keep the businesses from moving out of one-industry communities.

Immediately upon taking office, the Conservatives started making changes that even surprised their supporters by their harshness. The deputy labor minister was fired because he objected to Labor Minister Norma Price's attempts to have charges dropped against two chemical companies that were operating without the proper class of engineers. Price has also come under considerable criticism since she told a group of women that she could not understand why she had been appointed minister of labor since the premier knew she did not like unions.

The first major demonstration was sparked by the government's decision to repeal the family law legislation that the NDP had passed the previous summer. The legislation called for an equal sharing of property acquired during marriage upon separation and no-fault divorce.

When 600 people marched on the legislature chanting "50/50 or fight," Lyon commented "God forbid that any Conservative at any time would be against women. We're among the best breeders in the world."

The government also announced an intention of reducing the civil service by 1,000, but it had promised the Manitoba Government Employees Association (MGEA) that it would cut the civil service by attrition only. In March, however, 373 civil servants received lay-off notices. Lyon said he was forced to break his promise because the NDP had left a larger debt than he had anticipated.

Grants to hospitals and universities, which rely almost entirely on provincial funding, have been increased by 3 percent at the most. As a result, the provincial universities had to increase tuition by 20 percent and still have to cut back on academic and support staff. The tuition fee increase sparked a march on the university that saw 3,000 students, academics and support staff call for a stop to the government cutbacks.

The provincial Federation of Labor and the MGEA have also held marches that saw several thousand protest the government's actions.

Labor is particularly upset by government footdragging over the workplace health and safety act that the NDP had passed but was never able to implement. Last month the director of the health and safety branch of the provincial government resigned in protest over the government's refusal to staff the branch.

The government has also cut student summer employment, legal aid, life guards, job-creation programs and a land banking scheme. Their stated goal is to balance the budget and the only area of real increase in government spending in their first budget was in highway construction.

It is difficult to say whether the strong anti-government sentiment will stay for the next four years or whether the Conservatives will start to loosen up before the next election. Many New Democrats fear that the anti-cutback feeling in Manitoba will hurt rather than help them in the upcoming federal election, since voters who would normally vote NDP will switch to the Liberals just to make sure the Conservatives don't get in.

Doug Smith is the Prairie bureau chief for Canadian University Press.

ARGENTINA

Soccer cup games used to expose regime

Every four years, the World Soccer Cup finals take place in which the top 16 of 90 national teams vie with each other. But on June 1, when the ball is kicked for the first time in Buenos Aires stadium, a propaganda battle will also commence between the Argentine military junta and the clandestine opposition groups.

The junta has hired the U.S. public relations firm of Burston Marsteller to improve its international image. They have also required identification in order to purchase tickets as a means of weeding out opponents of the regime, who might want to use the occasion to inform the world of Argentina's 500,000 political exiles, 10,000 political murders, 20,000 disappearances, and more than 20,000 political prisoners.

At a recent event, a group of spectators hung a placard from the stadium light tower that first showed a team em-



Adriana Gatti de Rey, 17, daughter of a trade unionist, disappeared April 9, 1977, in Buenos Aires.

blem, but then revealed the initials of a political organization opposing the junta. The police greeted the applause with one dead and 80 wounded.

For the World Cup, the principal opposition movements have decided against promoting an international boycott and are instead seeking to distribute among players, newspaper people, and international delegations dossiers detailing the regime's atrocities. Amnesty International has joined the campaign.

—By Juan Rodriguez

HUMAN RIGHTS

Hit Development Bank

Although human rights was not on the agenda of the 19th annual meeting of the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), the bank's support for Latin American military dictatorship was attacked by a coalition of trade unions, immigrant groups, and political organizations.

The IDB was formed to lend money to Latin American countries to assist in building dams, port facilities, and other infrastructure projects. But during its 19 years, its loan policies have shown a pattern of aiding only countries that welcome multinational investment. This has meant, in practice, favoring Latin American dictatorships.

During Salvador Allende's presidency in Chile, all loans were suspended. After Allende was overthrown, the IDB gave a \$97 million loan to the Pinochet regime, the largest IDB loan ever granted.

Between 1961 and 1974, military regimes in Brazil, Argentina and Chile received the first, third, and fourth highest total loans.

A main topic of debate at this year's IDB conference was the U.S.'s failure

to keep up its contributions to the bank. The U.S. is now \$264 million in arrears. Delegate Robert Carswell explained that the contribution was being delayed by Congress, partially due to concern about human rights violations among the bank's recipients. Although he promised an intensive effort to get the sum, Carswell warned that "no nation can continue to have a domestic consensus in favor of providing assistance to other countries if its own sense of decency is offended by the activities of countries receiving assistance."

The 39 member countries were also told that increased contributions would be required since most of the IDB's money had been loaned out. Besides the U.S. and Canada, Israel, Japan, and several European countries contribute to the fund without receiving loans in return. Only their corporations are eligible to bid on IDB-funded projects.

—John Bowman

John Bowman edits a union newspaper for the Canadian Association of Industrial, Mechanical, and Allied Workers.



A mass grave for 582 Namibian refugees killed by South African troops May 4th.

UPI

South Africa's war against SWAPO

By Robert Manning

AFTER MORE THAN A YEAR of shuttling and maneuvering by the "Big Five" Western nations of the UN Security Council to negotiate a settlement for Namibia, a cloud of uncertainty continues to hang over that country's fate.

At the end of April South Africa, which illegally occupies the territory, tentatively agreed to a plan drawn up by the U.S., Canada, France, Great Britain and West Germany for a transition to independence. Then, the Western nations were trying to sell it to SWAPO (South West African People's Organization), which has been waging a low-level guerilla war since 1966 and which is recognized by the UN as "the legitimate representative of the Namibian people."

SWAPO has proposed modifications in the Western plan. But before anybody began to enter the smoke-filled rooms to hash out a final agreement, South Africa launched a terror raid 155 miles into Angola attacking what appears to have been a Namibian refugee camp at the Angolan mining town of Cassinga and killing more than 600 men, women and children.

Two mass graves, one of 460 and another of some 120, stand as chilling reminders of how fiercely the Vorster regime opposes SWAPO. Reports by the BBC and the Stockholm daily *Dagens Nyheter* indicate that South Africa hit a transit camp for Namibian refugees fleeing Namibia, many to join SWAPO. The attack has all but scuttled the negotiations.

"Secret guarantees."

Most observers were greatly surprised when the John Vorster regime, which had been going ahead with its own plans for an "internal settlement" excluding SWAPO, agreed to the Western plan.

The plan that South Africa accepted calls for:

- one person, one vote elections to elect a constituent assembly;
- release of all political prisoners held by South Africa;
- freedom of press, movement, speech and assembly during the electoral campaign;
- the appointment of a UN special representative to insure fairness of all aspects of the political process;
- a ceasefire and restriction of South African troops to designated barracks

and three-month phased withdrawal of its 22,000 troops down to 1,500 troops;

- a 5,000 person UN peacekeeping force;
- and the status of Walvis Bay, Namibia's vital port which is claimed by South Africa, to be deferred and negotiated by the first Namibian government and Vorster.

SWAPO's objections to the plan centers around three key points: They want the authority of the UN special representative to supercede that of the highest South African appointed official, Judge Martinus Steyn. They want the 1,500 residual troop force to be confined to a base in southern Namibia, not at the major northern base at Grootfontein. And they want Walvis Bay included as part of Namibia.

Shortly after Pretoria agreed to the Western plan, the UN General Assembly held a Special Session on Namibia. On May 2 it voted to ask the Security Council to impose economic sanctions on South Africa because of its illegal rule of Namibia. In the past, the U.S. and its NATO allies in the Security Council have vetoed such moves, but the vote symbolized African and general Third World support for SWAPO.

SWAPO president Sam Nujoma told the UN that the U.S. and its "Big Five" partners made secret "guarantees" to South Africa in order to obtain Pretoria's cooperation. There have been press reports making such charges, but U.S. officials deny that any deals were made. Reportedly, the Carter administration is seeking to be as ambiguous as possible on controversial issues. On Walvis Bay, for example, the administration appears to support in principle Walvis Bay as part of Namibia, but maintains that now is not the appropriate time to press the issue.

SWAPO has closed the door for the moment, but not locked it. Negotiations have been "suspended indefinitely," according to SWAPO sources, as SWAPO assesses the damage from South Africa's invasion and evaluates the political situation at a meeting of its Central Committee in Zambia.

Ironically, the *New York Times* reported that, according to some of the negotiators, Sam Nujoma appeared on the verge of agreeing when the Vorster regime launched its assault on Angola.

Stepped-up offensive.

The South African attack was part of a stepped-up offensive against SWAPO in

recent weeks. In mid-April Judge Steyn, Pretoria's administrator general for Namibia, declared emergency powers and arrested at least 31 SWAPO officials including four SWAPO central committee members. SWAPO's internal wing operates under severe harassment as a legal above-ground political group inside Namibia. Reportedly, South Africa has also encouraged tribal fighting inside Namibia, resulting in the deaths of many SWAPO members.

At the same time, the South African-backed Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) has been garnering more financial support from South African and foreign corporations. The DTA has increased its paid staff tenfold in recent months and has hired a South African public relations firm to produce weekly TV programs.

The DTA would be SWAPO's chief rival in an election, and apparently has gotten a head start in the campaign. The key figure in the DTA is Dirk Mudge, a white rancher and former member of the local branch of South Africa's ruling Afrikaner Nationalist party. Mudge is considered a forward-looking "moderate" who has been considered almost a traitor by many conservative whites for agreeing to share power with Africans.

Estimates by several observers in Namibia are that in any free elections SWAPO would garner some 60 percent of the vote. Privately, even South African officials concede that SWAPO would get at least 40 percent of the vote.

A rich prize.

Namibia, almost twice the size of Texas with a population of about one million, is a rich prize. It has uranium, diamonds, copper, lead, zinc and other minerals. Britain plans to meet most of its nuclear energy needs from Namibia's Rossing uranium mine, the largest open-pit mine in the world.

Namibia's economy is thoroughly dominated by South Africa although SWAPO has its own plans to redirect the economy to meet the needs of black Namibians who are generally subsistence farmers or contract workers in the diamond and other mines. Namibia is 88 percent black.

The conflict over the fate of Walvis Bay symbolizes Pretoria's desire to maintain economic dominance over Namibia. Walvis Bay is a vital deep-water port, the only one between Angola and Cape Town in South Africa. It is also a key rail depot and is specially equipped to handle

the export of most of Namibia's mineral wealth. Control of Walvis Bay is essential to control of Namibia. Without Walvis Bay, SWAPO could not build an independent economy.

Until last September Pretoria administered the city and port as part of South West Africa. But then South Africa passed legislation incorporating Walvis Bay formally into the Cape province of South Africa. Vorster bases his claim to Walvis Bay on the grounds that the port was a British enclave and was not part of South West Africa until after World War I. SWAPO contests this claim. The territory was under a League of Nations mandate after 1918 and South Africa administered it under the mandate, being theoretically responsible to the League, and then its successor, the UN. In 1966 the UN revoked Pretoria's mandate, but South Africa has continued to govern the territory illegally.

Vorster wanted SWAPO rejection.

According to UN sources, the delicate negotiations have probably not been permanently derailed by the South African attack in Angola, and may resume in several weeks. There are different theories as to why South Africa chose the particular moment it did to launch the attack.

It is known that there has been tension between the South African Defense Ministry, which has opposed the Western Namibia plan, and the Foreign Ministry, which backed the plan and opposed the military assault. One theory is that South Africa launched the assault in order to placate ultraconservatives in the government and ruling Nationalist party. It was, in this view, a show of strength by Vorster to demonstrate that he was not caving in to Western pressure.

But SWAPO sources suggest that the intent of the raid was to derail the Western plan. They argue that Vorster hoped that SWAPO would reject the Western plan and decided to make sure by launching the attack.

Certainly, the attack fueled SWAPO's skepticism that South Africa would actually permit SWAPO to gain political control of Namibia under any circumstances. SWAPO's request for more UN control over the transition process also would appear to have been given a boost.

Robert A. Manning writes regularly on U.S./South Africa relations for *IN THESE TIMES*.

IS F.I.S.T. FOR REAL?



Sylvester Stallone's Johnny Kovak.

Rocky is back.

This time around, however, he is not an endearing, slightly-punchy prizefighter from the back alleys of Philadelphia, but a cocky kid from the industrial valley of Cleveland, Ohio, determined to "go the distance" against corporate bosses to win higher wages and self-respect for "the men."

F.I.S.T., Sylvester Stallone's latest movie, is the story of Johnny Kovak, a burly Hungarian immigrant who starts out as a depression-era warehouseman, maneuvers his way to the top of the nation's most powerful trade union, and is eventually pulled down by his reluctant pact with the bosses or organized crime.

F.I.S.T. is loosely—very loosely—based on the rise and fall of Jimmy Hoffa in the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. The character of Johnny Kovak is an amalgam of scenes from Hoffa's life, Stallone's conception of a good-hearted people's hero, and the personal experiences of Joe Eszterhas, writer of the film's screenplay and himself a Hungarian immigrant who grew up in the tough neighborhoods of Cleveland's near west side.

Like few other Hollywood productions, the film accurately depicts the brutal, above-the-law tactics employed by businesses to block unionization in the early 1930s and before.

Other films have dwelled on union gangster connections as a way of putting down the "corrupt bosses of Big Labor." *F.I.S.T.* at least begins to explore the complexity of that relationship by looking at the corporate tactics that helped it into being.

F.I.S.T.'s portrayal of the relationship between unions and workers also differs from that of *Blue Collar*, Paul Schrader's avowedly anti-union film in which a Detroit autoworkers local is viewed as just as bad and corrupt as the company. The Federation of Interstate Truckers, the union at the heart of *F.I.S.T.*, on the other hand, is more accurately shown as the major force that stands between the ordinary rank and filer and the viciousness of company management.

"What I especially wanted to show is the kind of repression which unions in this country have faced for most of their history," Eszterhas told an interviewer. "I grew up as a slum kid and I've always hated the rich.... I knew that, were it not for the unions, the guys I had known in my childhood in Cleveland wouldn't have been making decent wages."

Eszterhas left his associate editor post at *Rolling Stone* magazine and began researching the script in June 1975. He spent four months trekking around the country, mainly in the Midwest, talking to rank and file truckers and old union men who remembered the vicious, anti-union activities of the companies. "And I heard it all: goons, tear gas, guns, a litany of horror stories from every part of America," he says.

As Eszterhas visited a lot of bars and downed a lot of boilermakers with a lot of hardened union guys, he realized that this "history of abuse and repression hadn't been at all treated in the popular culture, neither in films nor in novels.

And I got really excited about the project then, because I think it's important to know—especially for younger generations to know—how unions were formed. How unions had to defend themselves against the company's goons and guns, had to develop their own muscle. Some of them had to bring in their own goons and some of them were tarnished, perhaps fatally tarnished, in the process. But the point is that the unions didn't start the rough stuff, the companies did."

His initial screenplay, totalling 380 pages, eventually fell into the hands of Norman Jewison, the producer/director of mild-social-commentary films like *In the Heat of the Night* and *Rollerball*. For the leading role Jewison recruited "Sly" Stallone, who had just made it big in *Rocky*.

"I was just floundering around looking for a decent project after *Rocky*," Stallone explained to Jean Vallely of *Esquire* magazine. "I wanted the next film to be a real test of acting and something that would be kind of an important film. So this movie *F.I.S.T.* comes in.... I said I would do it if I could tailor the part for me."

In order to fit the script to his "body," Stallone began an extensive rewrite, setting off a year-long war with Eszterhas about who *really* understood Johnny Kovak.

After a series of back-and-forth accusations, this battle of egos reached an uneasy compromise: Eszterhas received sole credit for the novel while sharing credit for the screenplay with Stallone. The whole process so infuriated Stallone that he has reportedly refused to do any promotion for the film.

A comparison of both the book and the film illustrates this clashing conception of what *F.I.S.T.* and Johnny Kovak are all about.

The novel portrays Kovak as an astute, calculating individual who is sincerely interested in winning higher wages and better working conditions for truck drivers, but is primarily driven by a desire to strike back at the corporate bosses that killed his father, a steelworker, and oppressed his people for so long. His world view is shaped decisively by the Depression and by the ideas of his stepbrother, Abe Belkin, who studies Marxist literature and gravitates toward the Communist party. Johnny allies with the mob in order to gain another club to beat his hated corporate adversaries.

In the film, Kovak comes off as a kind of pushy slum kid with a heart of gold—Rocky a la the Cleveland flats. His main motivation is an amorphous desire to help "the men." He initially becomes a union organizer because the job comes with a car with which he can court Anna, the Lithuanian woman whom he eventually marries. In order to get some "push" to win a particular strike, Johnny stumbles into a pact with organized crime that ultimately destroys his sincere ambitions.

Despite the discrepancies between the film and Eszterhas' original vision of *F.I.S.T.*, the movie powerfully depicts the early struggles of the union movement, the anti-union bias of "neutral" police and politicians, and the destructive impact of organized crime.

Newspaper reviews of *F.I.S.T.* have been mixed. Some reviewers complain that the movie defies belief because Kovak's sincerity is inconsistent with his organized crime connections. A quick review of labor history, however, indicates that *F.I.S.T.*, with all its Hollywood distortions, is drawn from two phases in the history of the Teamsters union: its middle years when it organized hundreds of thousands of over-the-road drivers, and the late 1950s when Congress inves-

tigated the union for mob influence and it was thrown out of the AFL-CIO.

* * * * *

The men stood on the loading dock in their coats and jackets, shivering, looking at each other.

Gant opened up two crates of tomatoes, felt them with his hands. "All right," he said, "Get 'em in there before they freeze."

They finally started taking the crates out of the truck, but what in the Sam Hill? They were stacking them up on the loading dock.

*Johnny smiled and turned to Abe. "Gimme some of those tomatoes." Abe handed him a crate. Johnny smiled at Gant, raised the crate high above his head, and slammed it to the cement floor.**

The "tomato strike," Johnny Kovak's first job action in *F.I.S.T.*, is a dramatic representation of a "strawberry strike" organized by Jimmy Hoffa when he was 18 years old.

Hoffa was born in a small Indiana town, where his father, a coal mine drill operator, died of coal poisoning when Hoffa was seven years old. In 1925 his mother moved the family to Detroit, where she found a manufacturing job. Jimmy dropped out of school at the end of the seventh grade to find steady work.

Like Johnny Kovak, Hoffa began his trade union career during the Depression working as a warehouseman. He never drove a truck for a living, though he eventually led a union whose organizing base was over-the-road freight drivers.

At 18 Hoffa found work at a warehouse of Kroger's, a large midwestern food chain, unloading produce.

"We would report in at 4:30 p.m. and stay around as long as they wanted us to," Hoffa told Ralph and Estelle James in *Hoffa and the Teamsters*. "When a boxcar came in they would call a few of us to unload. The rest of the night we sat around gabbing and trying to keep warm. For that we got paid 32 cents an hour—but only for the time we actually worked."

In addition to these miserable working conditions, Hoffa faced a tough foreman who fired workers at whim for minor infractions. Warehousemen would come and go so quickly that lines of unemployed men formed outside waiting for a sudden job opening.

These conditions along with the low pay—\$15 for a six-day week—fostered widespread discontent that was crystallized by Hoffa and his close buddies. When a shipment of strawberries rolled into the warehouse one night, Hoffa urged his fellow dock workers to stop work until management agreed to higher pay and improved working conditions. Anxious to unload the high-perishable shipment, management rapidly capitulated and Hoffa won his first point-of-production job action.

Within a year the group received a charter from the American Federation of Labor and affiliated with the Teamsters union.

* * * * *

"Where you been?" Abe said. He [Johnny] hesitated. "Aw, I went over, saw Vince Doyle."

"Vince Doyle? How come you saw him?"

Johnny avoided his eyes. "I asked him to help us."

"Vince?" Abe said. "Those hoods of his, Johnny? The punks he's got?"

Johnny turned on him angrily. "Jesus, will you listen to me? What are you talkin' about? We need the push. Without the

push, we ain't got a union." He paused. "You fight fists with fists."

After the victorious "strawberry strike," Jimmy Hoffa became a full-time Teamster organizer. In 1937 he was elected head of Local 299, a general truck drivers' local, and gradually dominated the Teamster organizations in Detroit.

Hoffa's early union experiences gave him little cause to trust the "neutrality" of police or the courts. Both were blatantly subservient to the employers.

When organizers approached non-union shops, employers would immediately call the police to have them arrested. The organizers often returned from jail with eyes blackened, black and blue marks all over their bodies and other signs of police brutality. "My scalp was laid open sufficiently wide to require stitches no less than six times during my first year as a Teamster business agent," Hoffa later recalled. "I was beaten up by cops or strikebreakers at least two dozen times that year."

During one strike, the police hauled Hoffa from a picket line 18 times in a 24-hour period.

"Our cars were bombed out. Three different times, someone broke into the office and destroyed our furniture," Hoffa recalled. "Cars would crowd us off the street. They hired thugs who were out to get us, and Brother, your life was in your hands every day. There was only one way to survive—fight back. And we used to slug it out on the streets. They found out we didn't scare."

"The police were no help. The police would beat your brains in for even talking union. The cops harassed us every day. If you went on strike, you had your head broken."

To counter such anti-union brutality and employer/police collusion, Hoffa increasingly relied upon his own "muscle" and the services of syndicate thugs. He developed a gut disgust for hypocritical politicians and the entire legal apparatus, which he viewed as a sham to be manipulated by those who held real economic power.

As he steadily accumulated that power through his rise in the Teamsters, Hoffa found his alliance with organized crime figures to be immensely helpful.

"But the point," as Eszterhas says, "is that unions didn't start the rough stuff, the companies did."

* * * * *

Inside the Consolidated yard, the scab trucks had been loaded and were moving slowly toward the gate, which the strikers blocked. The strikers yelled and smashed the fence with their fists.

In an upstairs room at the F.I.S.T. warehouse, Abe was on the telephone, Johnny stood behind him.

"What's he sayin'?" Johnny said impatiently.

"They're loadin' the scabs up," Abe said.

"Okay, that's it. Let's go!"

They ran from the room down the stairs onto the main floor of the warehouse. There were a hundred men sitting there holding hats and long rubber hoses, all of them wearing hats with cardboard stuffed into them.

"All right!" Johnny yelled. "Let's go!"

The men burst from the warehouse doors into the street.

The Consolidated strike in *F.I.S.T.* is roughly analogous to the 1934 Minneapolis truckers strike. Although Jimmy Hoffa, a young Teamster organizer in Detroit, had nothing to do with the strike, its ramifications thrust him to the union presidency.



The real Jimmy Hoffa was arrested innumerable times in his rise in the Teamsters. Above, an arraignment on an extortion warrant secured in Detroit in 1946.

Like that of Johnny Kovak's in F.I.S.T., Jimmy Hoffa's early union experiences gave him little cause to trust the neutrality of the police, courts or government.

In early 1934 Minneapolis Teamsters Local 574, a small miscellaneous local, set out to organize the city's booming trucking industry. Highly influential in union affairs was a small group of Trotskyists, notably Farrell Dobbs and the three Dunne brothers, with extensive trade union experience.

After convincing the local president that the time was right for a major organizing drive, they devised a strategy for countering the power of the Citizens' Alliance, a coalition of employers who had thus far blocked the organization of labor through violence, stool pigeons, hired thugs, fixed grand juries and other methods.

Following a victorious strike in the city's coal yards, which swelled the union's membership to about 3,000, the local enrolled truck drivers and demanded union recognition. When employers refused to bargain, the local set up a larger version of the strikers' tent shown in *F.I.S.T.* and shut down the city's entire trucking industry.

They rented a large garage, installed gas stoves, and recruited over 100 volunteers who served hot meals to as many as 10,000 people daily. Another part of the garage was converted into a hospital where doctors and nurses tended wounded strikers. Groceries and pharmaceuticals were solicited from friendly small businesses and community people. A squad of auto mechanics maintained the local's cars and trucks, which served as "cruising picket squads" that roamed the streets looking for scab trucks.

The unionists carried out meticulous plans to stop all truck movement into the city. Fifty pickets were posted on incoming roads to halt trucks without union clearance papers. Reports on truck movements were relayed to strike headquarters, where Dobbs and other union dispatchers sent cruising pickets on their missions.

In the first few days, the strike was 100 percent effective.

The Citizens' Alliance, forming a "citizens' army" of militant businessmen, swiftly struck back.

In the "Battle of Tribune Alley," an undercover detective lured truckloads of men and women strikers into a narrow alley behind the *Minneapolis Tribune*. Police and "special deputies" there sealed the exits and beat people with night sticks and saps.

After the incident, strikers armed themselves with lead pipe, baseball bats, and bannister posts for the coming conflicts. As improvised helmets, the men stuck pieces of cardboard into the sweatbands of their hats. The Women's Auxiliary, meanwhile, prepared to take over operation of the strike headquarters.

A few days later the "citizens' army," backed by police, gathered in the city's produce market to ensure truck movements. A small group of union pickets separated the two groups and tried to stop a scab truck from loading. Wholesale fighting erupted.

One group of 600 strikers, who had been concealed at AFL headquarters, marched into the area in military forma-

tion, armed with clubs, and beat back the special deputies.

When police brought in reinforcements, unionists deployed another group of 900 armed strikers. After hours of hand-to-hand combat, the police retreated. Strikers chalked up their first victory.

The confrontation left 30 cops and several deputies hospitalized.

A similar battle occurred the next day as over 1,500 police and deputies clashed with several thousand strikers in the "Battle of Deputies Run." Fighting again started in the marketplace and spread through the city as strikers pursued the retreating forces of "law and order."

Strikers virtually controlled the city's streets, directing traffic downtown that night. Two members of the "citizens' army" were killed.

The truckers strike brought Minneapolis to the verge of class warfare. In a later incident, police ambushed a group of strikers, shooting 67 as they tried to flee and killing two.

The governor declared martial law. Small groups of pickets carried out hit-and-run raids on commercial trucking. After intermittent negotiations and state intervention, the employers capitulated, promising to rehire strikers and hold union elections. The Teamsters had broken the open shop in Minneapolis and destroyed the dictatorship of the Citizens' Alliance.

In contrast to the Consolidated Strike in *F.I.S.T.*, the Minneapolis truckers strike triumphed not because of organized crime assistance, but because of the brilliant

strategies of socialist organizers, the determination of rank and file truckers, the solidarity of the city's labor movement and the active neutrality of Minnesota Farmer-Labor Gov. Floyd Olsen.

Inspired by their local victory, Minneapolis Teamsters, under the leadership of Farrell Dobbs, launched a campaign to organize over-the-road drivers throughout the Midwest. In 1937 Dobbs was instrumental in forming the Central States Drivers Council, where he began working with union organizers like Jimmy Hoffa, who considered Dobbs "a very far-seeing individual... the draftsman of our road operations."

At Dobbs' feet Hoffa learned the importance of centralized, area-wide bargaining and the "leapfrog organizing" techniques that spread the union through the industry.

When Dobbs retired from the CSCD in 1940, Hoffa replaced him as negotiating chairman and gradually took over the organization. After WWII, his central states power base catapulted him to the Teamster presidency.

* * * * *

Johnny shook his head. "We're gonna land you a million bucks with those rackets guys sniffin' around? It's not smart, Babe [Milano]."

"It's business, Johnny. You make loans outa the pension fund to all kindsa people. You're gonna give us the same rate as anybody else. There's nothin' wrong with that," [Milano said].

Continued on page 18.

IN THESE TIMES

Editorial

The Red Brigades: elite technocrats

The Red brigades in Italy are a new kind of political machine. It kidnaps, maims, and murders with proficiency. It punishes enemies and friends without fear or prejudice. Like the old-style political machine it gets results—by hook and crook.

The latter aspect has won the begrudging admiration of segments of the bourgeois press: the machine operates at high technical efficiency, cuts through bureaucratic red tape, eliminates competitors, and evades the law with impunity. It performs with fewer leaks than the most tight-lipped investment bankers, attracts maximum media attention, and embodies the entrepreneurial spirit that turns high-risk ventures into successful routine.

But a political machine is still a political machine; its stock in trade is manipulation.

The Red Brigades epitomize the technocrats' dream—the dream of replacing the messy human element with predictable inanimate force. For these managers of the assembly-line of history class struggle is too irregular and time-consuming. People making their own history are too inefficient, unpredictable, unsteady. The Red Brigade impresarios would have bright careers at Fiat or General Motors. A tender offer from some multinational conglomerate is not out of the question.

The Red Brigade is a direct offspring—whether legitimate or illegitimate is open to question—of modern technocratic capitalism, Italian style. Some of its members are the sons and daughter of middle and upper income families trained for careers for which there is no conventional market demand, in a society where the market determines everything. Some are from the working class, tens of thousands of whose members have also been consigned by the market society to the ranks of the deprived and superfluous. They and their numerous sympathizers, who are in imminent jeopardy of falling into a similar state have learned to think of themselves as "outsiders" with little

They want to hasten the disintegration of Italian society. But their mechanized logic gets unintended results.

or nothing to lose.

They have been taught by the systematic exclusion of working class socialism from governing power, by the rhetoric of church and lay leaders, that they are "outlaws" if they seek by parliamentary means to put an end to the social injustices of capitalism. They have also learned that the market society punishes the impulses of human compassion and rewards huckstering, corruption, thievery, dissimulation and violent aggression, if done on a large enough scale. In the name of revolution, they have chosen to act in the image of themselves created by their acquisitive society—as outlaws, but as super-efficient technocratic outlaws: primitive rebels in the electronic age. They are not nihilists but practitioners of the prevalent values "traditional" to their modern society. Since it is also *our* modern society, they can "happen" here.

They want to hasten the disintegration of their society by polarizing it. But like all technique that puts confidence in mechanized logic over human consciousness informed by ethical ends and means, their efforts are yielding opposite and unintended results.

As last week's municipal and provincial elections indicate, they have contributed to strengthening the Italian political center, stabilizing the state, and short-circuiting the working class' revolutionary resolve that alone can regenerate Italy as an equalitarian and democratic society. In the process they have embraced the technocratic logic that reduces people to manipulable things and transforms noble ends into criminal means.



But the permeation of business by the technocratic logic in service of quick aggrandizement has turned more and more people against capitalism. People will be no more attracted to it when plied in the political sphere, whether in the name of the "proletariat" or of the status quo.

In the production of goods or the production of history, in the struggle with nature or the struggle of classes, machines are ultimately no substitute for the will and reason of the people. There is no mechanized short-cut to preserving the status quo or to social revolution. A machine designed for such a purpose, whether old-style or new, may run amok

for a time, but before long it must break down and go to rust. The Red Brigades quick returns today will be gone tomorrow, except perhaps for the poisonous fallout with which the working class will have to contend in its protracted struggle for a democratic socialist society.

In the last analysis, the red in the Red Brigade is the color of rust. It is not the color of revolution. Bourgeois admiration of Red Brigade "efficiency" and "discipline" reveals what seems beautiful in the eyes of the beholder—the eyes of a ruling class going to rust and beholding its inverted mirror image as it sinks beneath the human horizon. ■

Meany's rejection of wage restraint

The AFL-CIO has rejected President Carter's call for wage restraint as the way to control inflation. Its president, George Meany, expressed labor's view with an argument that capitalists oppose but socialists can affirm.

As he pointed out, "Wages are not the cause of inflation." Rising prices of fuel, food, medical care, real estate and mortgage rates, in which the cost of labor has not been decisive, are the main sources of inflation, he noted. "What [Carter] was asking us to do was to accept wage controls...on a voluntary basis." For unions to accept "a cap on their [wage] demands" would mean they "have already agreed to control them."

In effect, Meany has told the Carter administration that the unions will not serve as a police force against their own members' living standards. Nor will they acquiesce in any other wage-policing agency. Since wages follow prices, the way to control inflation, Meany said, is to "bring the prices down."

As far as it goes, Meany's position is as sound as the old gold dollar. Adjusted for inflation and taxes, real disposable income of union and non-union workers alike is lower than at the beginning of the 1970s. With the consumer price index rising at a 9.3 percent annual rate in

this year's first quarter, and expected to rise 7 percent or more in the next few years, the 30 percent or so wage increase over the next three years that the mine-workers obtained and that other big unions will be seeking, will just about keep their members' real income at its present diminished level. Workers in less powerful unions and unorganized workers will get even less.

The AFL-CIO is well advised in opposing the administration's policy on inflation. The administration has no strategy for controlling, let alone rolling back, prices and interest rates. The get-tough threats by Wage and Price Council director Barry F. Bosworth to subpoena corporate books to publicize and jawbone against unjustified price increases is little more than rhetoric. Corporations can tie up such subpoenas in the courts for a year or more, meantime keeping their high prices in place. Unlike the ICC in regard to railway rates, the Council has no cease and desist power over prices.

Indeed, public statements in the past week by Bosworth and Carter's muscleman Robert S. Strauss make it plain that the administration is acting on the pro-business argument that wages are the key to price restraint.

Bosworth pointed to the wages of the

80 percent of American workers not in unions. They have been rising on the average about one percentage point below those of union workers. Acknowledging that "it isn't very equitable," Bosworth nevertheless argued that non-union wages must be held down, and that to do that union wages must be held down.

Carter's decision to trim the budget deficit by cutting back and postponing tax cuts is also aimed at wages. It will have little impact on interest rates or prices; its only possible impact will be in cooling demand for labor, hence softening labor's bargaining position, by reducing the federal fiscal stimulus.

A confrontation is shaping up between labor and the administration over the corporate program for planning the nation's income distribution and capital accumulation. This conflict reveals both the strength and the limits of the "business unionism" legacy bequeathed by Samuel Gompers.

Business unionism fights for *more* within the system. Here, its protagonists are no less militant, by and large, than socialists. That is its strength. But labor leaders and the capitalists have pounded it into the workers' heads (with a little help from the state) that to want to change the system—or take less—is "un-American."

Now both capitalists and labor leaders—and the Carter administration—are stuck with their "American Way." And that means permanent inflation so long as labor fights to hold its own and capitalists won't accept lower prices and profits.

Business unionism is limited, however, to insisting on *more* within a system that can no longer give more without crises of inflation and unemployment. And it is barred from developing a labor-centered politics (like that, for example, of the old National Labor Union and Knights of Labor, to mention no others) seeking to replace the capitalist system with a socially responsible and just economy.

That limit defines the impasse—indeed bankruptcy—into which business-union leaders have led American workers. The *more* for which they fight becomes less with inflation, unemployment and deteriorating public services. Yet they are unable or unwilling to formulate an alternative and fight for a publicly owned and democratically planned economy.

It is no longer enough for labor to say "No" to wage controls and "Yes" to *more*. Labor is arriving at a point where it must consider the alternative: socialist unionism in place of business unionism. The very "success" of Gompersism is forcing the issue.

Letters

Surprise?

CONGRATULATIONS! *ITT* HAS finally learned to distinguish itself from Congressional Republicans (Editorial, *ITT*, May 10) who have moved way to the left of their normal agricultural base, the Farm Bureau, and began supporting massive increases in federal subsidies.

It must have surprised *ITT* and many others that it was the Democrats, not the GOP, who voted down the recent farm bill to add loans and subsidies to the already mammoth agricultural budget. Such irrational and opportunist behavior, which does not address itself to the commodities market and the monopolistic buyers, or to loans, which have often been the death knell of the small farmer, should be expected from conservatives who must stand for election this year. More, however, is expected from socialists.

—Don Stevens
Custer, S.D.

Too rosy a view of the PLO?

I READ JOHN JUDIS' ARTICLE concerning Yasser Arafat and the Palestine Liberation Organization (*ITT*, May 10) with great interest.

As a Jewish socialist I welcome attempts by fellow leftists to assist in bridging the gap that prevents the achievement of the rapprochement between my national liberation movement, Zionism, and the Palestinian nation. I truly look forward to the day when the Jewish and Palestinian nations will live side by side in peace.

I was disappointed, however, to note the absence in Judis' article of statements released by Arafat and other high-ranking officials of the PLO since 1974—the period in which Judis asserts the PLO has altered its strategy from a single-state solution to a two-state solution. This contention seems at odds with various PLO statements since 1974.

Concerning a question posed in a November 1975 issue of *Newsweek* as to whether the PLO would accept a two-state solution, Farouk Kadoumi, his organization's chief representative to the UN stated: "As an interim stage of settlement, yes. But the final settlement as far as we are concerned is a secular, democratic state of Palestine.... There is no tolerance on our part for the State of Israel..."

The abandonment of the single state solution by the PLO has also been discounted by Arafat himself. On the "Voice of Palestine," Feb. 1, 1977, three years after the PLO allegedly discarded the single-state solution, Arafat stated: "We must be prepared for our task, which is the struggle against the Zionist foe and all the enemies of our Arab nation—without and within.... From the Ocean to the Gulf, we shall march on, hand in hand, to victory!"

Not only does the above quote discount the two-state solution, but it explicitly excludes the possibility of the existence of the State of Israel. This can hardly be construed as a desire for co-existence between the Palestinian and Jewish nations.

Following President Sadat's visit to Jerusalem Arafat stated: "I have little to say because of my deep sadness that someone has thought to go and shake hands with this treacherous Zionist enemy. What has been taken by force can only be restored by force."

The above statements coupled with the Palestine National Council's re-ratification of the Palestine National Covenant last spring, a document that denies the right of Jews who came to Palestine after 1917 the right to remain there, suggests that the PLO has no intention of coexisting with Israel.

Indeed, statements by PLO officials have continuously called for the dis-

mantlement of Israel. One wonders whether these "sole legitimate representatives of the Palestinian people" are genuine revolutionaries wishing to cooperate with the Zionist left in bringing progress to our distressed region. As Fidel has said, no genuine revolutionary wishes to annihilate another nation.

—Yosef Gottlieb
Worcester

[John Judis replies: The PLO position, as it was explained to me and was also reported by Anthony Lewis in the New York Times, is that upon acquiring an independent state on the West Bank and Gaza, the PLO would abandon armed attacks against Israel and recognize it. But it would seek to achieve the ultimate goal of a democratic secular or binational state through political and social means. PLO officials thought this would take as long as 50 years. See my article in this issue.]

An anti-polemic

I ENJOY YOUR PAPER VERY much for the honest reporting of people's struggles. It is already widely read by people involved in meaningful political activity.

But don't allow your Letters column to become a forum for the endless polemics of frustrated ex-leftist leaders. I refer specifically to Peggy Dennis' Dialog (*ITT*, May 10), which was a polemic for which she used to have an audience.

Aside from being trite it was simply an exercise in getting back at you for implicitly belittling her period in history. Trite because statements such as "Weinstein seems unable to recognize let alone cope with the contradictions, dialectics, complexities of all social phenomena" are nothing but another way of saying you are stupid. Peggy needs to learn American English and to realize that Marxist double-talk turns people off, makes people run.

Whether the current movement will lead to a classical Marxist party, or any kind of socialist party is still unclear. The time now is for all good people to find an assignment that suits them and do their little thing among the people.

We all need to free ourselves of the burdens of past disappointments and resentments that eat away vitality.

—H.E. Cox
Greensboro, N.C.

Medical care and the Tooth Fairy

I READ WITH GREAT INTEREST Joyce Goldstein's "It's Time for a Public Health Service" (*ITT*, May 10), though I don't expect that the Health Service Act will ever see the light of day. In this, one of the richest nations on earth, and supposedly one of the most humane, we spend a hundred and twenty-five billions on the military and a mere fraction of that to maintain the health of our people. We lag far behind many other civilized countries in the area of health care.

A close relative, a woman in her early thirties who has worked all of her adult life, is in danger of losing all of her teeth unless she can come up with \$8,000 for surgery and other treatment. Considering that \$8,000 is more than her yearly take-home pay after deductions, she has as much chance of raising that sum as she has of going to the moon.

The cost of a single nuclear missile, of which we have an obscene surplus, would cover the medical needs of a thousand neglected middle income sufferers like her.

Our president and legislators (with few exceptions) talk a good health bill. Anyone naive enough to swallow such double talk must still believe in the tooth fairy.

The problem, of course, is that the all powerful, immensely rich and influential AMA has our Congress sewed up lock, stock and barrel. Besides, Congress, the Chief Executive and other officials have a free tax-subsidized medical plan that

takes damn good care of them and their families for everything from toothache to tummyache, courtesy of taxpayers who are forced to do without such services.

With our elected representatives we will never get a national health bill passed.

—Shirley Wolf
Los Angeles

Entitled, but...

A NEWSPAPER IS ENTITLED TO a point of view.

The *Daily News* may be entitled to call for the dismantling of the excellent radio station WNYC.

Likewise, *IN THESE TIMES* may be entitled to a pro-PLO, anti-Israeli viewpoint despite the fact that the former not only murdered Israeli athletes, but even bragged about their murders! You are entitled to your own bias.

Nevertheless, to publish sensational trash such as the Finkelstein-Huyst effort to me is shocking. I can only equate it with the *Daily News* sob-sister writing.

I am nevertheless re-subscribing, but hope you will never reach such a low level again.

—Beatrice Kuntz
Bronx, N.Y.

If we want it, we'll build it

IN YOUR ARTICLE (*ITT*, MAY 3) on Swedish social democracy you describe the LO (trade union central) plan for transfer of stock to union control over a period of several decades. "The voting rights of the stock (of a company) would go to the unions with the first 20 percent going to the local and the rest to the national. The national would appoint board members in consultation with the local."

Apparently, this applies not only to large corporations with several plants in different cities, but also to smaller enterprises with a single plant. The article then states, "At present rates of growth, the more profitable firms would come to be employee-controlled in 20 or 30 years. In 50 or 60 years the Swedish economy would be essentially socialist in that the huge majority of equity capital would be collectively owned." (emphasis mine)

Obviously, we all have different understandings of what socialism is and what constitutes employee-control. Maybe the key is in the work employee. In Sweden's proposed system, workers would indeed remain as employees, of labor bureaucrats rather than of capitalist investors. This is neither workers' control nor socialism, as I understand these terms. Something approaching workers' control might be established by reversing the 20-80 ratio, so the local controlled 80 percent of the stock, and the board appointment, but then one might well ask, why only 80 percent, why not 100 percent; and why have a board of directors and stock, anyway?

It seems to me that socialism and democracy will never be established from the top down. Two very interesting statements come to mind:

"It is better to give freedom from above than to wait until it is taken from below." (Czar Alexander II)

"If you are looking for a Moses to lead you out of the capitalist wilderness, you will stay right where you are." (Eugene V. Debs)

No benevolent leader is going to give us socialism. If we want it, we'll have to build it out of our own lives.

—Ann Tattersall
Eugene, Ore.

Right to life upheld

I AM A FEMINIST AND SUPPORTER of the ERA, but I am above all a supporter of all human life.

In two issues you blast the "Right to Life" (*ITT*, Apr. 26, May 3). On one page you show the small child who survived a Cambodian attack, and it is a pitiful sight to see. On the next page you talk about women's rights being abort-

ed in New Zealand. We better take a look at some slides or pictures of fetal development and of aborted babies. You can call it "tissue" or "contents of the womb," but it doesn't take much to figure out that it's more than that. It looks suspiciously human. When will we consider contraception one thing and abortion another?

For a paper that strives to unite people on important issues such as the dangers of nuclear plants and improved medical care for all, I find it inconsistent that you express no concern for the 1.2 million aborted babies in 1977. (Predictions are two million by 1985.)

If 1.2 million babies could organize, write letters, and march in protest, there wouldn't be abortion on demand in any country. What about those deformed and imperfect who were born? Do we tell them that if we had had the means to determine their condition earlier we could have terminated their life in utero?

A final note. In every unwanted pregnancy there are two human beings. Can't we as a people do something for both? Unplanned or unwanted pregnancies do not necessarily make unwanted children.

—Judith E. Kearney
Milwaukee, Wisc.

He's with Lenin

IN *ITT* MAY 10 PEGGY DENNIS replying to James Weinstein's review of her recent book, says that "the Communist party...helped win an anti-fascist war". But up to the time the Germans attacked the Soviet Union (from 1939 to June 1941) Communists throughout the world called it an "imperialist war," a classic example of imperialist war that Lenin had written and warned about.

After June 1941, the Russians called it "The Patriotic War" and the rest of the world's Communists called it an "anti-fascist war."

I'm with Lenin. WWII was a capitalist-imperialist war for markets, sources of raw materials, etc., with the "have not" (and therefore aggressive and fascist) imperialist countries on one side, and the "have" (and therefore democratic and less aggressive) imperialist countries on the other. Some other countries, like the USSR, Yugoslavia, etc., and peoples, like the Jews, were caught in the middle.

—J.J. Sternbach
Little Neck, N.Y.

Freedom from unhealthy dependency

I AM AN EX-MENTAL HOSPITAL patient who went through some of the conditions detailed in "Do mental patients have rights?" by Susan Abrams (*ITT*, Jan. 18)—compulsory medication, incarceration, etc. I want to know as much as possible about the legal context for the practice of psychotherapy in the U.S. so that, should I have a future psychotic episode, I know exactly what treatments cannot be forced upon me.

I have long suspected the psychotherapeutic industry in the U.S. of devious and coercive practices, and if I can legally avoid contact with it I should be free from what I think is an unhealthy dependency.

Thanks for the article.

—Eliot W.D. Char
Honolulu

Correction

In the Editorial, "Defending Israel and Palestine," May 17, one line was inadvertently dropped from the second full paragraph of column four. The paragraph should read:

To support the Begin government in such policies is to urge Israel to continue on a disastrous course—one of gross injustice to the Palestinian people. It risks pushing Egypt and other Arab nations back into belligerency when Israel is becoming increasingly vulnerable to wars of attrition, and when Israel's relative military superiority is disappearing.

Manning Marable

From the Grassroots Defending black colleges

A few weeks ago, U.S. District Court Judge Frank M. Johnson handed down a decision that may have greater adverse effects than the Bakke case on black higher education. Johnson ruled that Alabama State University, a predominantly black school, was guilty of "reverse racial discrimination" against its white faculty and staff members. Former Alabama State professor Charles R. Craig successfully sued the university for back pay, reinstatement and \$11,000 in damages.

Johnson ruled that the decision included all past, present and future white employees at Alabama State, and whites who have applied or will apply for jobs there. Johnson, a liberal Republican who consistently supported desegregation, prison reform and Civil Rights within Alabama, angered and shocked many of his black admirers. In the decision he implied that traditionally black colleges like Alabama State no longer have a place within American education. "Nondiscriminatory hiring practices will in time result in a work force more or less representative of the racial composition of the population...from which employees are hired," Johnson stated. Translated, this means that since Auburn University must accommodate nonwhites, that Alabama A & M, Alabama State and other schools must open their doors to whites.

The politics of desegregation forces many liberals, both white and black, to support Johnson's position. "Black institutions must face the fact [that] they can't

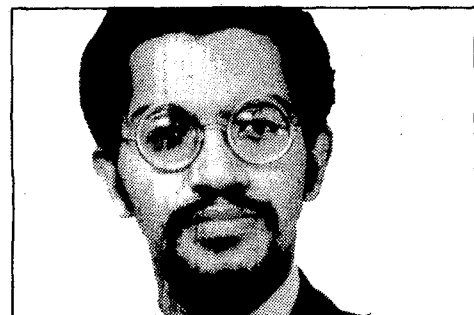
have it both ways," stated Nathaniel Jones, the general counsel for the NAACP to the *New York Times*. "They have to adhere to the same laws and principles that apply to white state institutions." Speaking more directly, John Porter, the director of the Alabama Commission on Higher Education, observed that Johnson's decision means that Alabama State "will no longer be a black institution." Logically, these liberals welcome the time when a college or university will not be distinguished as "white" or "black." They do not recognize Johnson's decision as the beginning of a liberal assault against black education, which it is.

There are 107 traditionally black colleges and universities, including private two-year and four-year institutions, graduate and professional schools. Since 1965 these schools have awarded 300,000 undergraduate, graduate and professional degrees. Some of these schools, like Alabama State, suffer from a lack of internal democracy. Johnson was correct in asserting that Alabama State President Levi Watkins, a black supporter of Governor George Wallace, "maintains a dictatorial grip over the internal life of the university." Yet Watkins is not the issue nor is academic advancement for white professionals within predominantly black intellectual centers: The real question here is whether the black community, existing within an overtly and covertly racist state and society, has the right to establish and defend its academic institutions.

What is the case for the continued necessity of the black university? From this perspective, a strong one:

1) After a brief period of liberalization, white colleges are closing the door to black faculty, administrators and students. In 1974-75, for example, 7.5 percent of all freshmen at medical schools were black. By 1976-77, the figure was 6.8 percent; it is lower today. One in seven black students who entered white medical schools in 1974-75 was forced to repeat the first year, a higher percentage than for whites. Universities like the University of California at Berkeley have aggressively limited the number of tenure-track black faculty and have denied tenure to blacks in disproportionate numbers. Black undergraduate enrollment dropped at Berkeley from 1,400 in 1972 to 700 in 1977, and is projected at roughly 300 next year. A Supreme Court decision that favors Bakke will only accelerate this reaction to the black presence on white campuses.

2) Black schools have traditionally accepted students with lower grade point averages and test scores than white institutions. At Tuskegee Institute, for instance, the average student in my department scored lower than 350 on both mathematics and verbal tests on the S.A.T., the basic entrance examination for college admission. White administrators, suffering from a tradition of racial bias, would view these black students' academic needs in a radically different manner from that



of a black perspective. The relationship between black professors and black students is usually more positive and stimulating than between white professors and black students. Neither Judge Johnson nor the NAACP recognize that both black students and black professors deliberately desire and choose to be within a black academic environment.

3) Black universities have been, and will continue to be, the center for black intellectual achievement. Sixty-two percent of all black M.D.s and 73 percent of all black Ph.D.s received their undergraduate training at black colleges. Over 80 percent of all black veterinarians in the country have been products of Tuskegee Institute. Over 80 percent of all black physicians and dentists were trained at Howard University and Meharry. Integrating these institutions will, on balance, produce negative returns for black people.

What is the proverbial bottom line here? Only that in their zeal for complete desegregation, black civil rights activists failed to discern the potential dangers integration posed for the continuity of black cultural and intellectual institutions. As a white faculty member at Tuskegee said jokingly on reading Judge Johnson's decision, "You'd better start treating me nicer around here."

Manning Marable is chairperson of the Department of Political Science, Tuskegee Institute, Ala., and an associate fellow of the Institute of the Black World.

Can multinationals be beneficial?

STORM OVER THE MULTINATIONALS: THE REAL ISSUES

By Raymond Vernon

Harvard University Press, 1977, \$12.50

The proliferation of multinational corporations in recent years has given rise to a vast literature on the nature and scope of transnational corporate power. Underlying every analysis of corporate power are assumptions about the relationship between economic and political forces within society. In the U.S., the relationship between big business and government is symbiotic.

The American economy is dominated by a few hundred giant interlocking corporations that are linked in numerous ways with the federal government. As these large corporations became a major factor in American politics and society, the interests of corporate and political leaders have been bound ever closer. It is this intermeshing of interests—institutionalized by the many ties between government and business, and facilitated by a shared world view—that provides the basis for understanding the structure of power in the U.S. in this era.

Many of the largest and most powerful corporations in the U.S. are also multinational. When corporate power assumes a global dimension the relationship between economic and political forces becomes more complex. A study of transnational corporate power must take into account the increasing dominance of multinationals over the world economy, their power within the home country, and the impact of their operations upon economic, social, and political conditions of the nations in which they are located.

Professor Raymond Vernon's most recent work on the multinational enterprise, *Storm over the Multinationals: The Real Issues*, is, as the title suggests, an attempt to separate fact from fiction in current debates. In his view, the economic power of transnational corporations must be sharply distinguished from the political power of nation states. Thus he rejects the thesis that the multinational corporation is the vehicle of American global

domination. He sees American hegemony as having its roots in national rivalries and facilitated by increasing global interdependence resulting primarily from technological developments in communication.

Professor Vernon argues that a realistic appraisal of the political significance of multinationals must begin with problems that are peculiar to their structure and operations. As nationals of the various countries in which they operate, multinational corporations are expected to fulfill certain responsibilities and abide by the laws of the land. Yet the activities of each subsidiary of a multinational are largely determined by the needs of the enterprise as a whole. Loyalties are therefore always in question, and this problem is compounded when governments try to control activities that are part of a larger global operation. These factors often give rise to tensions and to the possibility for conflict between nations and transnational corporations.

Vernon points out that the tension between multinationals and governments is greatest in the less developed nations, where the goal of political autonomy continues to collide with the realities of economic dependence. As nationalist sentiments grow stronger and multinationals continue to proliferate, the stage is set for confrontation.

The prospects for avoiding the impending clash will not improve, Vernon warns, until the less developed countries shed their ideological preconceptions and begin to view the multinationals as essentially economic (and not political) entities. His conclusion follows, of course, if nationalism or ideology is really the cause of the conflict rather than a reaction to the social and political consequences of the internationalization of corporate capitalism.

What course of action, then, does Vernon suggest the less developed nations adopt in order to close the gap between theory and practice and narrow the possibilities for conflict? The only hope, in his opinion, lies in some sort of accommodation to the realities of a world in which the forces leading to increasing in-

terdependence show no sign of abatement. In an effort to build up their own capital and technology, these nations must begin to assert greater control over the activities of multinationals through the use of taxes, price controls, and anti-trust regulations, and they must carefully assess the feasibility of pursuing independent alternatives.

But how realistic are Professor Vernon's proposals? It is true that in the past multinationals have often acceded to various governmental controls if there was a profit to be made or if the subsidiary was essential to the company's operations. Yet rarely have the economic benefits of multinational operations in less developed countries been realized by more than a privileged few. Nor is there reason to believe that this situation can be improved and the prospects for conflict reduced by pursuing a capitalist course of development.

Whether we believe that the multinational corporation holds out promise for global peace and prosperity or raises the specter of a world governed by corporations, will depend on how we understand the relationship between policy and economy and its implications for the exercise of corporate power.

The idea that nations must accommodate themselves to forces of interdependence if international harmony is to be achieved, attributes to economic forces a certain autonomy or *raison d'être* independent of political factors. As a result, the most important political consequence of the global spread of corporate capitalism—the consolidation of power in the hands of an international ruling class—is simply factored out. Moreover, his emphasis on the apolitical character of business enterprise, which stems from the distinction between economic and political power, tends to justify (because it ignores) the social inequities which are the inevitable product of capitalism and the power structure it generates.

—Scott R. Bowman

Scott R. Bowman is a graduate student in political science at UCLA.



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Will the Clamshell open or close?

By Marty Jezer

Comes spring and the no-nuke activist's heart turns to civil disobedience and non-violent demonstration.

There have already been demonstrations in South Carolina, Colorado, Louisiana, and at the White House. Actions against nuclear power and nuclear armaments in Washington State, New York City, San Francisco and Hartford, Ct., are planned. And on June 24th, the Clamshell Alliance will reoccupy the nuclear construction site at Seabrook, N.H.

This will be the fourth Clamshell action at Seabrook. In 1976, first 18 and then 180 people were arrested at the site. Last year, 1,400 activists overflowed New Hampshire's National Guard armories and jails. Construction has been delayed but not stopped. But the Clamshell has inspired a nationwide no-nuke movement that has adopted its tactics and organizational model.

This year, 5,000 people are expected to demonstrate. With the help of New Hampshire's right-wing governor, Meldrin Thomson—perfect foil—the demonstrators ought to win media attention. Moreover, the occupation promises to be exemplary, for the Alliance is organized and trained to move as a disciplined, though decentralized, nonviolent army. By its own criteria, Seabrook ought to be a resounding success.

But how does one evaluate this kind of activity?

Nonviolent action is certainly effective. It broke the apathy of the '50s, inspired the civil rights movement and contributed mightily to the anti-war movement. In the absence of a cohesive left or a viable socialist movement, nonviolent action often gives left activists their only public identity.

But nonviolent action has limitations. Although working people have used nonviolent tactics to good effect, except for the farmworkers there has been little contact between workers and the nonviolent movement. Elitism is an inherent danger. The nonviolent movement often finds itself in the same situation as the sectarian left: speaking for a constituency it does not have. The nature of nonviolent pro-



test—moral or symbolic witness and spending time in jail—discourages worker participation. This reinforces worker apathy and the idea that radical politics has nothing to do with their lives. It also increases the movement's own isolation.

The Clamshell Alliance is well aware of this problem. Its members have worked hard to make contact with organized labor. Others are fighting against rate hikes (needed to finance the Seabrook construction), which enables them to work with people who, by and large, have not been involved in nuclear protest. The Clam has been especially active in the Seabrook area. Large majorities have voted against the plant. Many local people support the Clam's direct action tactics.

Yet, civil disobedience is the Clamshell's primary weapon. It is the one tactic that generates enthusiasm among all the members; it is the primary reason for the Alliance's existence.

Anyone who has tried to do community organizing or to build a local political organization knows how hard it is to involve people day to day. But call a demonstration—even one that involves spending time in jail—and activists come running. It is symptomatic of the American left that radicals often prefer to take part

in actions like Seabrook than to work year round on less spectacular projects.

A demonstration, even with the threat of jail or police violence, is personally less risky. A confrontation is symbolic drama based on a media imposed reality. It relies on abstract slogans rather than concrete information. It is easier to shout "No Nukes!" or "Power for the People!" or even "Power to the People!" for the television cameras than to talk politics to a neighbor or in one's workplace and face possible rejection or hostility.

In New England, at least, the no-nuke movement has raised public consciousness about utility issues and the dangers of nuclear power. Few people are sanguine about nuclear energy. But they insist that those who want to shut down nukes come up with alternatives.

"Where will we get our electricity if there are no nuclear plants?" they ask. And, "what happens to our jobs if utilities cannot generate sufficient energy for machines and factories?"

These are legitimate questions and they demand concrete answers. Slogans shouted at demonstrations do not provide such answers. And talking about alternative energy sources is meaningless unless you are prepared to join the fight for democratically-controlled public power.

Public power is a way of winning control of investment capital so as actually to introduce practical alternatives to nuclear power. In Vermont, for example, a number of towns and cities are talking about taking over the private utility that serves them and building their own small generating stations utilizing wood, solid-wastes, and neglected low head water power.

Public power is not exactly socialism. But the battle for public power can give socialists credibility and experience with a wider community. It is a good way of explaining the dynamics of corporate capitalism. And, it is a winnable issue that rewards the public with control of capital in an essential sector of the economy.

Of course, many communities do have public power systems and some of them, like TVA, PASNY in New York, and the Bonneville Power Authority in the Northwest, are investing heavily in nuclear power. But because these are public systems, they provide an arena for actual rather than symbolic confrontation. The municipal utility in Seattle, for example, withdrew its investment in the Bonneville nuclear project as a result of public pressure. Activists can organize to gain control of their local utility district. And with popular control they can redirect capital investment.

Whoever controls capital controls energy policy. The battle is not simply between nuclear and the other alternatives. It is for political control and economic power.

Promoting alternative energy sources, as many no-nuke activists do, without promoting public power is fruitless. Capitalism does not care how energy is generated as long as it can generate its own

private profit.

The Department of Energy is already spending millions to investigate a solar satellite plan proposed by the Sunsat Energy Council, a potential solar cartel of 24 major aerospace and electronic manufacturers including such nuclear vendors as G.E. and Westinghouse. Sunsat wants to build a fleet of satellites (each 12 miles long and three miles wide) to harness energy from the sun and beam it back to earth as electricity. They are currently lobbying for billions of research dollars.

Who says that corporations cannot own the sun? If this scheme goes through, the future of solar energy will be controlled by the monopolies. And solar technology will be introduced only after the profits from nuclear energy have been totally exploited.

But there is another pressing reason for the no-nuke movement to address the concerns of a wider constituency. Radioactivity is probably the most dangerous pollutant on earth. It causes cancers and does genetic damage. But as a health hazard it is only the tip of an iceberg. Shut down nuclear reactors and there will still be carcinogenic pollutants in the environment. The hazards of the workplace environment are just now being documented.

But as research advances, industrial pollution is sure to become a more critical issue. Corporations are refusing to pay for anti-pollution devices, and the union establishment is now mostly aligned with the corporations. Within the labor movement, the rank and file is increasingly going to be fighting for workplace safety.

What does this have to do with the Clamshell Alliance and the no-nuke and environmental movements in general?

This: We are entering a period for environmentally concerned leftists to involve themselves with workplace issues. But to do so effectively we must have contact with workers and, more important, we must have credibility.

The Clamshell Alliance is the most visible sector of the no-nuke, environmentalist movement. But, by relying on tactics that discourage worker participation, the Clamshell reinforces its isolation.

And by emphasizing "No Nukes" and not responding to the energy questions that many people are asking, the Clamshell sacrifices credibility.

The Clamshell Alliance's June occupation may be one of the largest and best organized civil disobedience demonstrations ever. But what then? Next spring an even larger demonstration?

No, that misses the point. What counts now is how the Clamshell goes about widening its base and addressing essential energy and environmental questions.

A long-term proposition to be sure; and a difficult one at that. But that is where the future lies. Not with spectacular non-violent demonstrations. ■

Marty Jezer was arrested in last year's Seabrook occupation. He is currently involved in a public power project in Brattleboro, Vt., where he lives.

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THE INSIDE STORY

Petrol & Palestine

The PLO rank-and-file as well as the Marxist-Leninists openly acknowledge their distrust of Arab regimes, from the "reactionary" Saudis to the Syrians. "The Palestinians have no real friends among the Arab countries," one Fateh member told me.

The Fateh and PLO leadership is more circumspect, but sometimes their cautious characterizations reveal an underlying tension. During our interview with Arafat, someone asked whether the PLO could trust the Syrians. He had been responding to our questions in English, but he switched to Arabic to answer this one. When the translator had him saying that the PLO and Syria were "allies," Arafat corrected him in English: "not allies, but strategic allies. We are geopolitical allies with Syria, and it is not a matter of emotions [i.e., trust]."

He went on to comment more generally on Palestinian-Arab state relations. "We are still existing in this very sensitive area—this area of petrol and Palestine, P and P. We know this land is full of mines, different kinds of mines. It is not easy to walk this long march in this minefield."

The American ambassador, Richard Parker, had his own theory of the PLO when I visited him with several other journalists. He thought they were on the "crest of a wave" and that unless they did something productive, "they were in danger of becoming passe."

According to Parker, the labor surplus in the Mideast had ended, and the surplus Palestinian labor that had furnished the PLO with its commandoes would be sucked into jobs in Iraq, Syria, Jordan, and the Arab Peninsula.

Parker's vulgar materialistic outlook is probably shared by the Israelis, who seem to be waiting the PLO out in the expectation that it will wither away. But even the materialistic facts don't bear Parker out.

The oil boom in the Mideast has not produced an employment boom. Oil production is itself capital intensive, and the oil sheiks have been unwilling to use their enormous capital surpluses to create an industrial base and with it an industrial working class that could threaten their quasi-feudal rule. Also, the agricultural development that has taken place in the Mideast has tended to displace workers.

And in many Arab countries, even when Palestinians are hired, they are subjected to economic and political discrimination.

But whatever the case, in the Mideast, as Parker should know and as the Israeli Jews are themselves witness, the dreams of a national homeland do not disappear in a generation or a century or even ten thousand years, and the Palestinians will continue to dream of theirs, and to fight for it, in one way or another, as long as it is denied them.

F.I.S.T.

Continued from page 13.

"All right, Babe," he said, his voice low, his back still to Milano. "You work out the numbers with Vince."

The characters of Vince Doyle and Babe Milano in *F.I.S.T.* are mild representations of the mob figures that Hoffa associated with from his earliest union days. They provided another power base for his rise in the Teamsters. Convicts leaving prison could routinely find jobs as Hoffa's "organizers." Hoffa once appointed a convicted perjurer to serve as a union trustee. In order to attend one trustee meeting the appointee had to get a three-week furlough from prison.

After Hoffa became Teamster president in 1957, he found another way to keep his underworld connections happy: loans from the Central States Pension Fund, which had an investment reservoir of \$125 million in 1962.

Instead of placing the management of the Fund, which is fed by employer contributions, into the hands of a bank or insurance company, Hoffa entrusted investment decisions to a board of union-industry trustees dominated by him.

Millions of dollars went to finance gambling casinos in Nevada. Investments poured into real estate ventures run by mob-connected figures. Individuals like Paul "Red" Dorfman, a kingpin in the Chicago Capone mob, were granted decisive influence over where loans went.

The workings of the Fund are still a topic of government investigations, media revelations and continual controversy. (ITT, May 17.)

* * * * *

In 1958, Cole Madison was reelected to the Senate with the biggest vote in Rhode Island's history. That same year, he became chairman of the Senate Rackets committee. He had found his big issue.

He barnstormed the country, always in fund-raising efforts for other candidates, talking about the power of organ-

ized crime. He was a snow-white figure with blond hair battling the forces of corruption. It was the perfect issue. No one could really disagree with him.

Cole Madison, *F.I.S.T.*'s aristocratic, ambitious Senator who goes after Johnny Kovak, is a personification of the Kennedy brothers' campaign against Jimmy Hoffa in the late 1950s.

As a young Senator from Massachusetts, John F. Kennedy was a member of the Senate Labor Rackets committee, headed by John McClellan (D-AR) which set out to uncover labor corruption in 1957. Robert F. Kennedy was chief counsel.

Hoffa, called to testify a total of 18 times, deftly fielded questions and suffered convenient losses of memory on controversial subjects.

To Bobby Kennedy, Hoffa became a symbol of dark criminal forces that threatened to control the entire economy. By attacking Hoffa the Kennedy brothers hoped not only to help "clean up" the country, but to enhance their public images without alienating crucial labor support.

To Hoffa, Bobby Kennedy was "that little monster," a boy sent to do a man's job. But with his brother in the White House, Bobby Kennedy became U.S. Attorney General in 1960 and set up a special "Get Hoffa" unit in the Justice department.

After years of court battles the government finally skewered Hoffa on a jury tampering charge. In 1967 he went to jail.

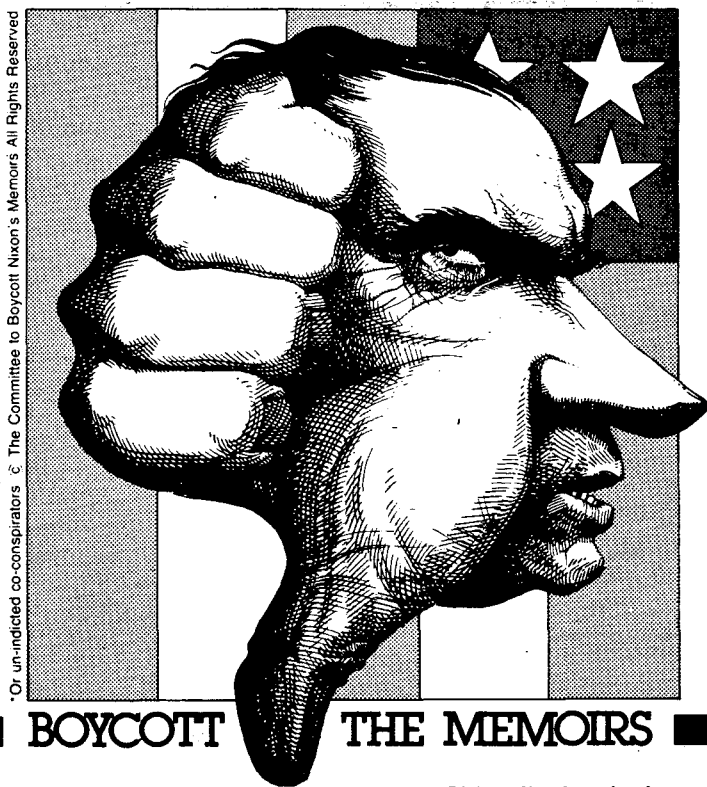
Hoffa, figuring that court appeals would soon spring him from prison, put Frank Fitzsimmons in temporary charge of the union. Things didn't work out that way.

"Fitz" liked his lucrative new job, made peace with the mob, and tried to stop Hoffa from regaining control of the Teamsters when he emerged from jail in 1971.

In his quest to win back "his union," Hoffa was apparently ready to divulge some of his vast knowledge about syndicate operations. Like Johnny Kovak, he became an unknown quantity to the underworld and had to be eliminated.

On July 30, 1975, Hoffa disappeared. ■

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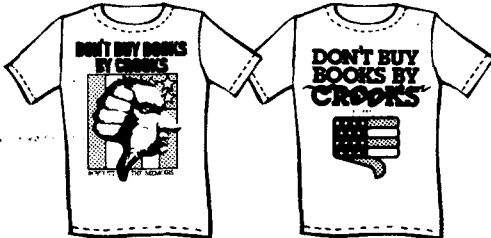
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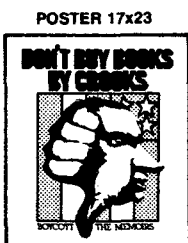
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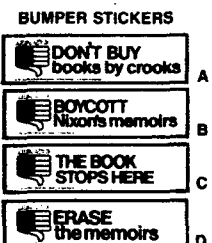


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LIFE IN THE U.S.

BOOKS

Cheating scandals destroyed illusions

THE GAME THEY PLAYED

By Stanley Cohen
Farrar, Strauss, Giroux, 1978

There was a time when Madison Square Garden meant City College vs. St. John's rather than the Knicks vs. the Celtics; when in New York schoolyards it was the moves, shots and mystique of the college rather than the pro game that were invoked and mimicked. Stanely Cohen conjures up that time, the early '50s, when basketball was the dominant urban fantasy of both black and white adolescents, and when a "shadow deep as darkness" subverted its magic.

The Game They Played is an amalgam of documentary, personal memoir and social history. Cohen provides a solid, journalistic account of the basketball scandals of the early '50s, including an extended portrait of the City College 1949-50 unranked, double championship team (made up of five schoolyard players, three Jews and two blacks) and their coach, the fiercely "dignified" Nat Holman. For Cohen, City College's involvement in the point fixing scandal was a personal calamity.

Cohen was a Bronx schoolyard player who loved the graceful patterns of the game, knew the ins and outs of a zone defense and dreamt of glory, playing for City College under the Garden lights. The scandals destroyed both big time college basketball in New York and Cohen's own fantasies, alienating him from his prime passion as if the game was now seen and heard "from inside an airless bubble."

Documenting the scandals, Cohen provides a social critique of overzealous, absurd judges who meted their heaviest sentences to those ballplayers with the most difficult and checkered pasts, and of hypocritical college officials who, having doctored transcripts and treated college players as pros, absolved themselves by in-

dulging in self-righteous rhetoric. Straining for larger historical and social significance, Cohen uses the scandals to reflect on the McCarthy and HUAC witch hunts and the silent generation of the '50s.

The book is most distinctive when it is engaged in the "soft clay of remembrance." Cohen has a deep affection and a genuine feel for the ethos of the streets. He knows the neighborhood gamblers and ballplayers, its heroes and hustlers, its sights and sounds. He also understands why immigrant sons, raised by their parents to become solid, successful professionals, found the post-war, street underworld so seductive. The bookmakers and touts offered them a scintilla of risk and imagination, without having to gamble one's life away. You could engage in small hustles on the streets and return unscathed to the safe haven of the middle class home.

Cohen's memories grant to that lower-middle class culture a poignant life. (By and large, those neighborhoods are no longer the core of an urban boyhood, and that life can now be recovered only in nostalgia.) On a more profound level, Cohen perceives that those who held on to that world paid with a piece of their selves.

The Game They Played is stronger at evocation than analysis—more successful at communicating the subtleties and art of basketball, or the emotional power of neighborhood folklore, than of illuminating the nature of the small town or the politics of the Cold War. Cohen writes better out of and about his own experience than he does of more distant events. Though his prose can be overblown and florid (e.g., "the big city feel of lightning in the nerves and cold steel in the veins"), he is often eloquent and richly metaphoric. He has written a moving book.

—Leonard Quart

Leonard Quart is a writer in New York.



Stanley Cohen

Cohen understands why immigrant sons, raised to become successful professionals, found the street underworld so seductive. It offered risk and imagination, without having to gamble one's life away.

Law is an instrument of change as well as order

LAW AND THE RISE OF CAPITALISM

By Michael Tigar, with the assistance of
Madeleine Levy
Monthly Review Press, 1977, 346 pages,
\$16.00

Of all the shibboleths of the radical left, none goes more unquestioned than the maxim that "law is an instrument of the ruling class." Rooted in the Marxist view of the state, the maxim conveys the notion that the legal system in a class society is designed to protect the interests of those in power.

True enough, but behind the truth lurks a pervasive problem: like other doctrines transmitted through the ages, the Marxist concept of law is treated by many today as an article of faith. The unfortunate result is a widespread inability to perceive the complex and often contradictory role of law and legal institutions in the contemporary U.S.

This is why *Law and the Rise of Capitalism* is an important book. Although the authors contribute nothing really original in the realm of theory, they provide a readable historical analysis of the European bourgeoisie and the new legal practices and principles it created in its long struggle against feudal absolutism. In so doing, they give us the details and depth without which a radical view of law is reduced to empty slogans.

The historical study encompassed by the book stretches over 800 years, from the

faint stirrings of merchant capital to the conquest of political power by the French and English bourgeoisies on the eve of the 19th century.

Tigar and Levy trace the arduous strivings of the bourgeoisie—first for survival against feudal restrictions on trade and municipal organization, then for expanded privileges as trade revived during the Renaissance and finally for the seizure of state power itself. Along the way, they explain such mysteries as the origins of the modern ideas of contract and property.

At each stage of the saga, the authors maintain a critical Marxist posture, connecting legal change with the shifting class conflicts of the era. But they avoid the mistake of characterizing law as a simple reflection of "material conditions."

A tool and a vehicle of progress.

For Tigar and Levy, law is both a tool of social control and a vehicle of social progress. Through countless examples, they argue that legal ideology is not the sole property of the dominant social group but that all groups that aspire to power invariably formulate their attack in terms of legal rules and principles. It is only after testing "the existing institutions to see how far they will bend and only after repeated experiments" that an insurgent group mounts an openly revolutionary challenge.

So it was with the early businessmen, whose fight for survival was marked not

only by violent outbursts such as the urban uprisings of the 12th century, but by peaceful adaptation of the legal norms of medieval society to their new commercial needs.

The relevance of the bourgeois experience to the current radical movement in the U.S. is taken up in the final section. In an attempt to explain the relationship between legal ideology and social change, the authors subject the major schools of jurisprudence to a concise and highly effective critique. They show that none of them can describe the means by which the bourgeoisie first accommodated, then openly confronted, and finally overthrew the legal ideology of feudalism.

The Marxist challenger.

What remains to be explained is how a revolutionary legal ideology emerges out of the old order and ultimately challenges it. To comprehend that, one must identify the social forces and relations that bring the new ideology into being. What is needed, say Tigar and Levy, is a "Jurisprudence of Insurgency," which makes the use of legal ideology in the process of social change its primary concern. Only from such a perspective is it possible to distinguish those groups in society whose legal position and demands (like those of the medieval brigands) could never develop into a revolutionary movement, from those groups with genuine revolutionary potential.

And what force will replace the bourgeoisie, now teetering in the twilight of its rule? Since the triumph of the bourgeoisie, the challengers to capitalism have been many, but according to Tigar and Levy, "it is now clear that of the many contenders, Marxian socialism is the most likely to succeed in replacing it."

"We are today witnessing a process parallel to the one we sketched in our study of the bourgeoisie's rise to power," the authors conclude. "Claims for justice are being formed by dissident groups in terms of demands that the dominant legal ideology be interpreted in particular ways." One thinks of the labor movement's continuing battle for the right to organize and strike (often justified on First Amendment grounds) and the demands of women and minorities for equal protection of the law.

Though the moment of insurrection may still be a long way off, the inexorable process of social transformation is at work and is reflected by and contested in the terrain of legal ideology.

With this message, *Law and the Rise of Capitalism* returns us to our radical view of the law, having educated us in its complex subtleties. It is a noteworthy achievement—one that should be consulted by lawyers and non-lawyers alike.

—Bill Blum

Bill Blum is a lawyer and free-lance writer in Los Angeles.

ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

MUSIC



Gisela Kluge

Theodorakis, 'the voice of conscience'

It is the end of the concert. For two and a half hours four young Greek singers and seven instrumentalists have been performing the music of composer/conductor Mikis Theodorakis—popular songs, excerpts from an oratorio, ballads, song-cycles and "song-streams." They—particularly the percussionist and the small man who plays flutes, recorders, harmonicas and a sort of baby xylophone with manic energy—seem understandably tired.

But the audience will not let them call it a night. They are clapping in unison, stamping their feet, cheering and begging for encores.

Finally, Theodorakis returns to center stage, reaches for a microphone, adjusts it to his commanding height and launches into unaccompanied song. The audience roars approval and changes its rhythm to provide an accompaniment.

For such a big man, broad-shouldered and deep-chested, his voice is not as strong as you would expect. (Someone sitting near us whispers, "He was beaten too much in prison, and then there was the tuberculosis.") But his delivery is stunning. His head is thrown back, and from our seats, far to the side in the front row, his unmistakably classical Greek profile is silhouetted against the black curtains of the stage—an image of righteous anger, defiance, pride.

Now the instruments on the stage behind him are feeling their way into the rhythm he is beating with foot and fist. At first it is mostly the bazouki and the drums. Then the guitars and the harmonica. Now the four soloists are improvising a background.

Theodorakis' gestures become

more emphatic, more urgent. It is as if he is urging the audience to some momentous action. Near the amplifiers, the level of sound has become unbearable, but the response of the audience behind us is almost as intense.

Suddenly the house lights come on. Looking back over the huge auditorium, in which there is not an empty seat, you see here and there—on the main floor, in some of the boxes, in the balconies and galleries—phalanxes of men and women, all ages, all styles of dress, on their feet, fists clenched and lifted, mouths as wide open as that of the singer onstage.

A few of the more sedate auditors in the expensive seats are embarrassed at this "exposure," but after a few moments it doesn't matter even to them. Audience and musicians are united in a peak experience of some kind.

Without understanding the words that convey the emotion, you can't put a name to it. But it is the kind of spirit that must have possessed the Parisian masses that moved against the Bastille.

The radicalization of a musician.

Mikis Theodorakis, at 53, is a composer of international reputation and the veteran of three resistance movements.

He was arrested the first time when he was 16 years old, for demonstrating against the occupying armies of Italy and Germany. Three years later when the right-wing monarchy imposed a native fascism on Greece, Theodorakis joined the organized cultural resistance. He was interned in the dreaded Makronossis camp, beaten insensible on several occasions, forced to watch the mass murder of fellow prisoners, tortured until his leg was broken and his vision

permanently impaired.

If he had had a less vigorous physical body, he could not have survived. His psychic survival was due to another saving grace, which established his place in the resistance movement. He was—and still is—able to turn anguish into music with astonishing rapidity, and on a level that can be taught to large masses of people.

One famous example: after the murder of a radical youth leader, Theodorakis (then an opposition member of the House of Deputies) led a small group to the cemetery where the police were trying to bury the body in secrecy. The authorities were frightened into releasing it instead to the family. During the action, Theodorakis composed a setting for some verses of a well-known contemporary poem, and as the huge funeral cortege moved through the streets of Athens next day, the marchers were singing his anthem.

Art in the service of politics.

In 1952 Theodorakis was finally released from the concentration camp and went to France to study at the Paris Conservatory. There he worked out an "artistic credo" based on his resistance experience and his analysis of the political solution necessary to forestall a recurrence of fascism.

In musical terms this meant turning his back on "absolute music" (symphonies and recital pieces), which he saw as having been "...for decades the privilege of the middle classes...the intellectual creation of a certain period, by a limited social environment... bound to reach a certain degree of development and then to decline.

"The popular masses [have] remained apart from this musical movement.... They feel, listening to it, the kind of awe that takes

hold of one when one walks into a history museum. This is why I was convinced it would serve no purpose to modernize or adapt it to the electronic era....

"The more the masses reach a high level of development and culture, the more they will look for a form of music that will belong to them entirely—not a warmed-up dish essentially destined for others. This music, their music, is the popular song."

Another aspect of Theodorakis' credo involved the lifting of the national spirit of his people, crushed by a long series of foreign occupations. He went back to old folk themes, to Byzantine church music and even earlier modes. He modernized and popularized traditional folk instruments like the bazouki and the santouri. The result of this effort, in which other composers were drawn to collaborate, has been the creation of a new Greek music, rooted in the great Hellenic past, and pointing toward a "radiant socialism."

The last is Theodorakis' own phrase for the vision that illumined the tremendous cultural renaissance in Greece during the years between 1963 and 1967.

Another level of resistance.

The reimposition of fascism by the colonels' coup in 1967 caught Theodorakis at the apex of his cultural and political creativity. He was composing an enormous body of work: songs, ballet scores (e.g., *Antigone*, which won him international fame); film scores (e.g., *Phaedra*, and *Zorba, the Greek*); and moving into the more imposing form of the popular oratorio (e.g., his enormously popular *Axion Esti*, based on a long poem by one of the greatest of contemporary Greek poets). He

was also the president of the Lambrakis Youth, the largest legal organization of the left in Greece.

The coup sent him into hiding and illegal political activity. He was eventually arrested and "detained" in a remote village under the strictest security. But this time there was international interest in his situation and extraordinary support within Greece. A network of underground communications made it possible for him to smuggle a continuous stream of political papers and resistance songs, not only out of the village, but out of the country.

On more than one occasion, a new song by Theodorakis was played on BBC and heard in Greece on illegal radios within ten days of the event that it celebrated.

International protest, organized by the Council of Europe and such individuals as Melina Mercouri, finally secured his release in 1970. He lived and composed in France until the overthrow of the colonels permitted him to return to Greece in 1973.

Maintaining apparently amicable relations with the Karamanlis regime, he has been less active politically than musically of late. Among his new works is the ambitious oratorio, *Canto General* (a setting of Pablo Neruda's epic poem), which was debuted before a crowd of 70,000 in Karaiskakis Stadium. He now spends much of his time touring the world with the concert group heard this month in the U.S. and Canada.

—Janet Stevenson

Several albums of Theodorakis' songs and a two-record set of *Canto General* are available on LPs, 8-tracks, and cassettes, from Peters International, 619 West 54th St., N.Y.C. 10019.

Records

QUARTER MOON IN A TEN

CENT TOWN
Emmylou Harris
(Warner Bros.)

Emmylou Harris is, with Linda Ronstadt, one of the reigning queens of country rock. But while Ronstadt has become a veritable superstar through her kittenish sensuality and her powerful vocals, Harris' following continues to grow solely on the strength of her performance. Her fourth album, *Quarter Moon in a Ten Cent Town*, is a genuine pleasure.

It is a smorgasbord of country rock styles, each cut reminiscent of successful tunes from earlier releases. Harris is an interpreter of other people's songs, not a singer/songwriter. But she has always chosen her material well and *Quarter Moon* is no exception.

The opening song, "Easy From Now On," written for her by Susanna Clark and Carlene Routh, is a slow, acoustic-electric blend that gives Harris full play for her exceptional voice. She is gutsier on the country bar rocker, "Two More Bottles of Wine" and then slips easily into Dolly Parton's "To Daddy." This is a haunting ballad about her housewife mother's pain and isolation, and the vocals are so smooth that the song has almost slipped by before the power of the lyrics hits. When Mama leaves, "she never meant to come back home/If she did, she never did say so/to Daddy."

Two slower songs by Jesse Winchester ("Songbird" and "Defying Gravity") are rendered sweetly, but without much punch. The band's acoustic guitarist Rodney Crowell also provides two songs. "Ain't Livin' Long Like This" is a honky-tonk rock tune, suitable for Jerry Lee Lewis. The bayou flavor of "Leavin' Louisiana in the Broad Daylight" is enhanced by ex-Band members Garth Hudson on accordion and Rick Danko on fiddle and harmony vocals, and this song is one of the highlights of the record.

Willie Nelson provides a wonderfully gruff harmony for the ballad "One Paper Kid." And Harris also sings Utah Phillips'



Emmylou Harris, country rock queen

Dan Reeder

"Green Rolling Hills of West Virginia," a powerful song about leaving home for work in a northern city.

In the past, Harris has recorded with excellent studio musicians. On *Quarter Moon* she combines them with her own newly-organized Hot Band: Rodney Crowell (guitar), Glen Hardin (piano), Emory Gordy (bass), John Ware (drums), Hank DeVito (pedal steel) and the inimitable Albert Lee (lead electric guitar). Assisted by outstanding sidemen, the band produces tight, driving musical backdrops for Harris' exciting vocals.

There's something for everyone in *Quarter Moon*, yet it remains consistently interesting. Harris' voice ranges widely over different kinds of materials, and the result is a mixed bag of country-rock delights.

—Michael S. Kimmel

Michael S. Kimmel is a free-lance writer in Berkeley who reviews records for *IN THESE TIMES*.

these problems through self-parody, writing with the passionate frustration of a talented stylist confined to a position in the design department of Checker Cabs.

Despite a brief flirtation with fame a few years back stemming from a top-ten hit, "Dead Skunk," and a three-show stint as a troubadour on the TV show *M*A*S*H*, Wainwright has never fulfilled the expectations of Clive Davis when he cleared out his Columbia stable to form Arista Records. His seven albums, spanning three labels, have garnered disappointing sales, averaging 70,000 copies each. A seasoned artist, he still can't crack the markets that his peers, the McGarrigles, Warren Zevon, Jackson Browne and Randy Newman, sweep through handily.

Part of the reason for Wainwright's popularity lag has been poor promotion, as evidenced by Arista's stingy support (a single black-and-white trade ad in *Billboard*) for his new record, *Final Exam*. In Chicago last week, just one month into the promotional tour, Davis unexpectedly withdrew all financial support, leaving the band Slow Train to return east while Wainwright continues west on his own. Another problem is his lyrics, which demand close listening in an age when the banality of "Stayin' Alive" songwriting has forced many listeners to seek solace in wordless jazz.

But the primary reason for Wainwright's lack of commercial success is his inability to translate the magnetism of his concert performances to vinyl. Although the material on *Final Exam* is brilliant on stage, the album itself is a chore to appreciate. With the exception of his sterling *Unrequited to the Nth Degree*, which combines studio cuts with live acts, Wainwright hasn't yet been able to put his irreverent sneer through radio speakers. Although all of his albums give a sense of what he's about, Wainwright himself admits, "The best way to hear me is to see me."

So, after years of suffering reviews that quote Hegel or Rimbaud to justify a recording artist's ho-hum talents, we simply offer this: We like Wainwright; once you've seen him, you will too.

—Paul Gregor
and Paul Engleman

Paul Gregor and Paul Engleman are free-lance writers in Chicago.



Loudon Wainwright III, the Mark Twain of the '70s

Loudon Wainwright III sings songs about suicide, chlorinated pools, necrophilia, hockey, domestic squabbles, crimes of passion, unrequited love, gofing, New York City dog doo, religious and political prophets past and present and the lowliness of the American tourist.

But he is more than a prankster on the rampage. A wry, cerebral wit, Wainwright is the Mark Twain of the cynical '70s. His lyrics shriek, mutter, stutter, whine

and demand attention. They are sarcastic, pun-ridden and starkly emotional without suffering the casualties of sentimentality.

Male performers just aren't capable of singing about love with the same "sensitive" feelings of Anna and Kate McGarrigle (Wainwright's ex-wife), Emmylou Harris or Bonnie Raitt; they are too awkward and their feelings too forced to be convincing without lapsing into sticky sentiment. Wainwright sidesteps

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FILM

Pretty Baby is nice but pretty short on substance

PRETTY BABY

Written by Polly Platt and Louis Malle

Directed by Louis Malle
Starring Brooke Shields, Keith Carradine
Paramount Pictures, Rated R

French director Louis Malle has a knack for exploring controversial subjects (mother/son incest in *Murmur of the Heart*; French collaboration with the Nazis in *Lacombe, Lucien*) with an intelligent blend of compassion and humor that avoids both preachiness and bathos. His newest film, *Pretty Baby*, falls short of expectations, but not because of its controversial topic, a 12-year-old prostitute in New Orleans, circa 1917.

Malle has no difficulty handling the unusual. Instead of a helpless, seductive turn-of-the-century Lolita, his Violet (well played by Brooke Shields) is a rope-skipping, wise-cracking tomboy who

takes her surroundings with a large dose of cynicism, observing the activities of her mother and the other "working girls" with an unblinking, jaundiced eye. Sex in her world is as commonplace as lunch. Being a virgin is tantamount to being made to go to bed early—a sign that she is not yet one of the grown-ups.

On the big day of her First Communion, Violet, in mock wedding dress and veil, is paraded around a room full of prominent Louisiana gentry and sold to the highest bidder—all of which she accepts with a combination of girlish excitement and casual bravado. Far from shrinking, Violet is as independent, willful and resilient a female character as we are likely to see on the screen.

Malle doesn't ignore the tawdry side of her involvements, but he has taken great care to avoid any content that might resemble "child pornography," concentrating mainly on the characters'



Brooke Shields, as Violet, the 12-year-old tomboy prostitute.

Maureen Lambray

mental and emotional conflict.

And yet Violet does not come off as a completely developed and believable child. Her aggressive pursuit of and marriage to the intense, withdrawn photographer (Keith Carradine) is stormy and theatrical, but somehow devoid of emotion. The two veer between a father/daughter and a husband/wife relationship. When Violet's mother, now married and "respectable," returns to claim her abandoned offspring, Violet cannot understand why they all can't go home together.

Likewise, we are at a loss to

understand the beleaguered Bellocq's sudden passionate refusal to surrender his child-bride, claiming that he "cannot live without her."

It is as if once Malle has latched onto his material, he can't decide where to take it. The film grinds away at a painfully slow pace. Its focus is fuzzy, at times the child's point of view, at times Bellocq's, at times that of a gifted director in love with an unfamiliar milieu.

The arty opulence and elegant civility of the New Orleans of this period fascinates Malle so that he allows the camera to linger far too

long on scenes that cease to be charming and quaint when repeated so often. He is so taken with the picturesque veneer that he has slighted the plot and the characters.

Pretty Baby suffers from a lack of direction and substance. Malle has again succeeded in transforming a potentially ugly subject into a very human, sympathetic story, but it is neither as bad or as good as it might have been.

—P. Hertel

P. Hertel reviews regularly for IN THESE TIMES.

The filthy rich are also filthy

THE GREEK TYCOON

Directed by J. Lee Thompson
Written by Mort Fine
With Anthony Quinn, Jacqueline Bisset, Raf Vallone, Ed Albert
Produced by Allen Klein and Ely Landau; Rated R

The Greek Tycoon is a movie with a message: If you don't mind being crass, loutish and foul-mouthed, it pays to be filthy rich.

This film's vulgarity should not be underestimated.

Tycoon captures all the heart-warming suzziness of the super-market tabloids, where each week another jet set romance ends (or begins) with a bloody nose, a torn designer gown or an attempted

suicide. The film leers at beauty, fawns over wealth and worships at the altar of power. It dreads virtue and exalts venality, "sophistication" and sleaze.

Jacqueline Bisset and Anthony Quinn portray the object and the tycoon respectively. They are Jacqueline Kennedy and Aristotle Onassis. The screenwriter has given them other names and slightly changed the historical facts of their lives, but only people suffering from premature brain death will fail to recognize them as they wend their way through the trials and torments of Aegean cruises and cocktail parties.

The film begins with the rise to power of the Kennedy clan. Am-

bitious Senator John gets summoned to Washington from a party at the Onassis spread, where Jacqueline and Ari have had their first romance-filled meeting. Kennedy gets elected, establishes the Camelot round table and then gets shot. Following a brief period of mourning at Hyannisport, Jackie runs off to make whoopee with the tycoon.

The big cheese offers her a marriage which in essence reads: you make love with me ten times a month, don't express your opinions in public, and I'll pay for all the emmenthaler and gruyere you could possibly desire. It's whoredom, and the lady knows it, but at least it's high-class whoredom.



Strange and wonderful things happen in Greece. Dishes are broken, calamari are consumed, and Anthony Quinn dances like *Zorba the Greek*. All this and more, against a lavish island background, with occasional trips to Washington, D.C., cloakrooms and New York discos.

And of course, there are tears, anguish and anger. The rich are different, you know, hotter tempered than the rest of us. They are allowed to say words like *shit*, *fuck* and *screw* in public the way ordinary citizens ask for change. In the dictionary of this movie, these are power words, words that signal emotion, concern, and love. The actors' faces do not.

—Max Powell Jr.

Max Powell Jr. is the son of science fiction writer Amaximander Powell.

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BOOKS

Arguments for a Palestinian state

WAR OR PEACE in the Middle East?

Edited by Peggy Duff, for
Bertrand Russell Foundation
Spokesman Press, Nottingham,
England, \$4.00

Peggy Duff has compiled an excellent reader that provides tightly reasoned, well documented arguments for the creation of an independent Palestinian state on the West Bank of the Jordan River and in the Gaza Strip. It also details the PLO's evolution from its genesis to its present policy of acceptance of a "two state" solution and explains why U.S. support and pressure are essential for a peaceful solution of the Middle East conflict.

Although the book was written prior to Anwar Sadat's journey to Jerusalem, Duff and her co-authors, Noam Chomsky and Lord Caradon (author of UN Security Council resolution 242), Claude Bourdieu, William Blakemore and others, help us to understand Sadat's actions and Carter and Begin's responses, as consistent with national interests and imperial policies at work in the area. Blakemore's essay, "Lebanon in the Levant Wars" is particularly helpful in explaining the many conflicts at work there and how they relate to the more central Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

The central theme of the book revolves around what Noam Chomsky refers to as "Axiom One of International Affairs"—that the "U.S. will take any possible steps to insure that its allies do not gain independent access" to the oil reserves in the Middle East, which the U.S. came to control after WWII. Arms sales, diplomatic initiatives and the kind of support the U.S. gives Israel are all keyed to maintaining control of oil.

War or Peace anticipates the wreck of the Sadat initiative on the shoals of Begin's intransigence. Duff underscores that "Israel would prefer to leave things as they are, to extend and perpetuate its occupation of the West Bank, Gaza and East Jerusalem, at least." She predicted that



The two-state formula, a fall-back position for American capitalism, would save an incalculable number of lives that would be lost in another confrontation.

Israel would resist any withdrawals in order to put pressure on Carter through the involvement of American Zionists in the 1978 congressional elections. An unspoken assumption is that Carter will probably not take any decisive action between 1978 and 1980, the years of his anticipated re-election campaign.

In what may come as a shock to many American readers, Duff and Chomsky outline Arafat's

"American strategy." 1) In order to get even a mini-state, Arafat needs the support of the major Arab states—Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Syria. 2) It is through their support (particularly Saudi Arabia's) that the PLO has a lever to use against the U.S. government. 3) This places a reciprocal lever in Saudi/U.S. hands that limits whatever socialist aspirations may exist within the Palestinian nation. (A clear example of this was the

go-ahead by the U.S. and Saudis to Syria, to crush the Palestinian left in Lebanon during the civil war), 4) Arafat, who has no particular love for the Russians, knows he has Soviet support because it accords with Soviet interests. This he could easily trade away in a detente deal with the U.S. 5) Arafat has placed his eggs in an American basket and will not long be able to maintain power within the PLO if he is unable

to deliver his moderate demands.

In essence Duff argues that Arafat must convince the U.S. that the PLO could fit into a "peaceful formula for the Middle East, acceptable to Washington." As Chomsky has stated elsewhere, the two-state formula can thus be considered a fall-back position for American capital.

An obvious reason to support this formula is that it would save an incalculable number of lives that would be lost in another round of confrontations. It does not provide all that either Israelis or Palestinians have dreamed of, but it meets their minimum needs.

War or Peace also includes Said Hamami's last public statement, "From Co-existence to Reconciliation," a paper he delivered in London shortly before his tragic assassination. (It was Hamami who announced in 1973 that the PLO was ready to co-exist with Israel and he was probably murdered by rejectionist Arabs as a result.) Hamami's vision is of a democratic, secular "state in partnership," which he realizes cannot come into existence for at least ten or 20 years... perhaps even longer, and then only if the Israeli people desire it. He believed that as a first step to such a solution "both Israelis and Palestinians will, sooner or later, have to recognize each other's claim to nationhood."

The book concludes with a plea from Peggy Duff for public criticism of Israeli and U.S. policies. She emphasizes that unquestioning support for Israel's policies from the Jewish diaspora in the U.S. and Western Europe and the Social Democrats of Europe has been a major obstacle to a reasonable and durable peace settlement. She agrees with Lord Caradon that "there is a danger that Israel can destroy itself" by continuing on its present path.

—Joseph Gerson

Joseph Gerson works with the New England branch of the American Friends Service Committee, 21 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, MA 02138, from which the book is available.

How it all comes together in the *Times*

THINKING BIG: The Story of The Los Angeles Times, Its Publishers, and Their Influence on Southern California

By Robert Gottlieb and Irene Wolt
G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1977,

Thinking Big isn't a book only for readers of the *Los Angeles Times*. The authors have integrated the history of the newspaper with the history of Southern California from the mid-19th century to the present. "It all comes together in the *Times*" is the paper's latest promotional slogan, and in terms of definition and control of a vital region of this country, it certainly does.

Harrison Gray Otis took over the fledgling newspaper at the beginning of the 1880s land boom, which completed L.A.'s metamorphosis from a dusty cattle town to a rapidly growing metropolis. Otis became one of the biggest exponents of boosterism. (Expansion is

good. Big is better. What's good for business is good for the community.)

Rapid growth helped Otis and his cronies among the local capitalists to keep unions out of the area. Immigrants were pouring into the city, lured by ads and cheap transportation. A surplus of workers weakened unionization efforts, and the open shop atmosphere encouraged still more business growth and earned for Los Angeles nicknames like "Otitown" and "the scabbiest town on earth."

In the second decade of this century, Otis' son-in-law, Harry Chandler, ascended to leadership of the *Times*. The kind of man who can make friends with an enemy if his goal warrants it, by wheeling and dealing behind the scenes Chandler became the single most powerful man in Southern California by the early '20s. He had a hand in every major California enterprise, from bring-

ing Northern California water to the city (the movie *Chinatown* did not spring solely from a screenwriter's imagination) to drilling for oil; from destroying the city's public transportation network (automobiles were more profitable for Chandler's rubber, oil and road construction interests) to directing the development of Yosemite National Park. The tentacles even reached into Mexico, during the Revolution of 1910-1917. Chandler had extensive land holdings in Baja California.

When son Norman took over the reins in 1941, he kept the economic empire growing and the paper on its straight and narrow path of right-wing boosterism. But he was aware that a newspaper correspondents' poll had named the *Times* the third worst newspaper in the country. Norman and (especially) his wife Dorothy could see how the political winds shifted. As the Cold War thawed, so

did the *Times*, toning down its attacks and making some pretense at objectivity.

Under Otis Chandler, latest in the line of succession, the paper has made more concessions, none of which hurt the Chandler empire. In fact, diversification, conglomeration and other means of corporate upgrading have brought even more power and wealth to the family. And the new *Times*' reasonable tone of corporate liberalism has brought them prestige as well. Instead of being third worst, the *Times* is now ranked one of the top newspapers in the country.

Gottlieb and Wolt have written what is probably the definitive text on the history of a newspaper and the extent of its influence. Their careful research sets an example for other investigators of the roots of an institution and its power.

The authors are unfortunately so concerned with documen-

tation that at times the prose reads like research cards with added adjectives. Every incident, major, minor or irrelevant, seems to lie on the same plane of importance.

Also, Gottlieb and Wolt seem to assume that their audience already has a good deal of knowledge and/or well-formed opinions. This may be flattering, but it is also frustrating for those of us who do not have our opinions in order. Partisan and revisionist historians ought not to be afraid to offer their conclusions about why any given piece of material is important.

There is a strong concluding chapter, but it comes after more than 450 pages. I'm afraid not many readers will get that far in this valuable book.

—Pamela Feinsilber

Pamela Feinsilber is a free-lance writer in Los Angeles who reviews books for *IN THESE TIMES*.



Acid Rain

The rising acidity of rainwater, due to rapidly rising rates of man-made pollution, may be having devastating effects on forestry, wild life and vegetation in many areas of the world.

By Barry Sulpor

Many scientists are becoming concerned that rain containing acid—often no stronger than weak lemon juice—is causing major ecological changes to lakes, streams and perhaps forests and agricultural crops, particularly in the northeastern U.S., Scandinavia and parts of Canada.

Acid precipitation, the existence of such acids as sulfuric and nitric in snow and rain, has been known and studied for years. It has been recognized as a problem around cities, near smelters or close to fossil-fuel power plants. But now scientists believe the situation is becoming much more critical.

Ellis Cowling, a professor at North Carolina State University and the chairman of the North Central Regional Project on Atmospheric Deposition, says there is no question that each year rain and snow falling in certain parts of the U.S. is becoming more acidic.

Cornell University scientists have reported that in 1955 and 1956 a pH of less than 4.5—very acidic—was found only in Pennsylvania, New York and certain parts of Ohio. But they now say that within the last few years acid precipitation of less than 4.5 has been received in almost the entire eastern U.S.

According to Gene Likens, a pioneer in research at Cornell, that area includes most of Michigan, Illinois, North Carolina, and all of Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, New Jersey, New Hampshire, Vermont, New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island.

"What this means is that the relatively weak, naturally occurring carboxylic acids once found in precipitation are now being dominated by much stronger acids mainly

caused by man-made pollution," Likens says.

"It's not hard to understand," Cowling says, "that if 60 million tons of sulfur are emitted into the atmosphere, 60 million tons of sulfur are going to eventually come down somewhere in one form or another, including rain."

Effects of acid rain.

Scientists are divided, however, on the effects the acid rain is having on the environment.

According to Likens, forest growth between 1950 and 1970 has been reduced in southern Scandinavia and the northeastern U.S. However, he says, "It is not possible to state unequivocally that this decline is caused by acid precipitation." Forests are very complex ecosystems and acid precipitation is only one of many environmental stresses.

Carl Olof Tamm, a professor of forest ecology at the College of Forestry in Stockholm, Sweden, reports that "except in areas where trees show visible pollution symptoms, it has been difficult to establish that acid rain or other increases in atmospheric acidity effect the growth of trees. However, this does not exclude the possibility that such adverse influences may exist."

Moreover, Tamm said in one report, part of the acidity of rain is due to nitric acid or nitrogen oxides, so that the effect nitrogen has as a fertilizer might compensate for any harmful effects. And sulfur compounds, another key ingredient of acid rain, might actually help forests because sulfur is an indispensable plant nutrient in some forest lands.

Cowling, however, says that experiments indicate that highly acidic water can cause premature browning of older needles, increase the leaching of inorganic nutrients and organic substances from foliage, affect the reproduction of simple plants such as mosses and ferns and decrease the availability of nitrogen and other important plant nutrients from the soil. "These things collectively can diminish forest and agricultural productivity."

Crops affected.

Researchers for the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency at a laboratory in Corvallis, Ore., have found in preliminary tests that certain crops, such as beans and radishes, are affected by acid rain.

Under simulated acid rain conditions, David Weber, EPA plant pathologist, reports that "radishes were smaller and bean plants contained less than the normal amount of beans." But, he says, "detailed information on these effects or on the possible costs to the agricultural and forest industries are not yet known."

Other individual studies have produced similar results.

Carl Schofield, a research associate in Cornell University's Department of Natural Resources, who has studied lake and soil effects from acid rain over the last four years, has found dramatic effects in the lakes of the Adirondack Mountains in northern New York. Based on a survey by researchers at Cornell and the New York Department of Environmental Conservation, Schofield reports that lakes above 2,000 feet were found to be most severely affected by acid precipitation.

"About 50 percent of those lakes were below pH 5.0, which is considered a critical level for survival," he says. And more than 80 percent of the lakes were completely devoid of fish life. "What we are talking about are over a hundred lakes which are no longer capable of supporting fish life."

The researchers have observed that in lakes with a pH of less than 6.0, the number and variety of algae begin to decrease. Below 5.7, the insect populations, another food source for the fish, also drop. Fish eggs and newborns begin to die when the pH goes below 5.5.

Eventually, the lakes become populated with only large, aged fish that are incapable of reproducing. When they die or are caught, the lake becomes essentially barren.

The researchers have also observed kills of adult fish when a large surge of acidic water entered a lake, such as during the spring runoff of melted snow.

Since there is no industry in the Adirondack Mountains, Schofield says, the high levels of acid precipitation found there must be coming from other sources.

Questions remain.

Norwegian researchers have found that in the Tovdal River in southern Norway, which was one of the country's main salmon rivers, almost no salmon are now being caught.

Exactly how the fish are killed is only one of perhaps hundreds of questions still unanswered. Charles Hakkarinen of the Electric Power Research Institute (EPRI), a key sponsor of acid rain research, says three major questions need further study:

- How much of the sulfur and nitrogen in acid rain is caused by nature and how much is caused by man-made pollution from power plants, automobiles, smelting operations and other industrial processes?

- How do sulfur and nitrogen combine with other compounds when emitted into the atmosphere?

- How far away are these pollutants transported—a few hundred miles or several thousand miles?

Very little money, however, has been spent on acid rain research—less than \$500,000 a year, according to Vance Kennedy, at the U.S. Geological Survey in Menlo Park, Calif.

"So far," says Kennedy, "it seems only a few scientists are aware of the problem and the public does not yet realize what is going on. It's very hard to stir up interest in something that may not have any real serious impacts for several years."

"The research right now amounts to a bunch of individual scientists pursuing their own particular interests in acid rain," Ellis Cowling says.

The North Central Regional Project on Atmospheric Deposition began a project in April to establish a national network to measure and analyze the changing composition of rain and snow and assess its effects on agricultural and forest lands and surface waters in the U.S.

Cowling says the participating experiment stations will be located in about 28 states, mainly in the East, federal agencies such as the Geological Survey, Environmental Protection Agency, Tennessee Valley Authority, Department of Energy and the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration will allow the project to use some of their meteorological and agricultural stations. Funding will come mainly from state agricultural experiment stations, the U.S. Forest Service and the Agricultural Research Service.

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